Working against racism in largely white areas : sites, themes and outcomes.

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WORKING AGAINST RACISM IN LARGELY WHITE AREAS: SITES, THEMES AND OUTCOMES

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ABSTRACT

The thesis charts anti-racist developments in education in largely white areas between 1980 and 1995. Four main sites of potential development are examined: schools, local education authorities, initial teacher education and the national state. The examination is conducted through much of the published work in the field in addition to the author's own work and data accumulated through involvement in these four different sites. This is partly documentary and partly data gathered through teaching, reflective practice and in-service work in schools, and additional interview data with students in ITE.

Development will be assessed partly by an examination of formal documents and material official support (like funding) as well as political discourse and rhetoric. Outcomes are discussed in terms of formal curriculum content and policy statements, stated intentions, and commitment or opposition on the part of individuals such as teachers, activists (promoting and opposing change) and politicians.

This is embedded in an analysis of racism with particular reference to Britain. This is seen as rooted in its colonialist history but renewed and remade in the responses to post-war black and Asian immigration. Different levels or aspects of racism are examined in relation to education, and in relation to largely white areas of the country. The focus here is primarily on discursive practices and how they are maintained or challenged, in the relative absence of the material challenges experienced in settings with a significant black or Asian presence.

A key theme which emerges is to do with the mechanisms of effecting change in individuals and in institutions. It is suggested that it is possible to achieve the appearance of a change, easy to produce opposition, but a very complex process to effect a sustained anti-racist change. These complexities are highlighted.

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PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

Four sites of struggle and some themes

This thesis is an account and analysis of work I have been involved with in various ways for fifteen years. My involvement has various roots and causes, including events and possibilities which occurred at work, family events, and chance.

At the height of the 1960's political debate about 'immigration', a member of my immediate family married a black woman. At the age of sixteen this brought about a rapid re-evaluation on my own part of some of the common cliches about 'race' in Britain and an early familiarity with countering or querying others' views on the subject. Though not a preoccupation, it was an issue in which I was forced to take an interest, to the extent that between my first degree in social science and my PGCE, I took an MSc in Race Relations.

Another root was the comprehensive school in Wiltshire where I was appointed as a humanities teacher in 1975. The school was an avowedly 'progressive' one, with a uniform only insofar as pupils had to dress in blue, a curriculum which integrated both the sciences and the humanities up to year 11, we set our own GCE and CSE coursework and exams to match our integrated curriculum, and most teaching in all years was in mixed ability groups. In the intervening years I have heard of, read about or visited other such schools, and my estimate is that at that time there were perhaps twenty in the country which had taken so many steps away from traditional arrangements. The Head had recruited his original staff in 1969 with a particular vision in mind, and had succeeded in gathering together many teachers who were original, idealistic about comprehensive schooling and highly motivated. Under his benign autocracy (his own phrase) they were able to realise many of their own visions; as Fullan (1991) would put it they were highly 'self-actualised' and they passed on this

climate to newer teachers.

In my first three years there I had gradually noticed the views and opinions about black and Asian people expressed by my pupils of all ages, and gradually, tentatively, began to intervene, comment and argue. I had noticed where others had not because of a combination of my knowledge and inclinations as a social scientist, and force of personal habit.

Outside of school I became a member of the local Community Relations Council (now Racial Equality Council). Through this I had regular contact with Asian and black people and their accounts of experiences of harassment, discrimination, immigration restrictions and of locating and defining themselves in 'Britishness'.

In 1979 the National Front experienced what turned out to be a brief rise in electoral support. Its public profile was raised, it organised several highly publicised demonstrations and expressed pretensions of political influence, if not power. The Anti-Nazi League (ANL) was formed in response to this, with a deliberate strategy of appealing to young people with concerts in a 'Rock Against Racism' series and the distribution of stickers and badges.

For a few months the ANL caught the imagination of many teenagers. For the first time I observed pupils themselves engaging each other about racism, challenging stereotypes and 'jokes' and openly declaring their stance with ANL badges on their lapels. Myself and three other teachers (all in their first few years of teaching) took to wearing ANL badges too.

Within a very short time the Head prohibited the badges for pupils, though not before it had spread to half the sixth form and a sizeable minority of younger pupils. Two fifteen year-olds in particular, both of whose parents had committed anti-racist views, continued to wear their badges and were suspended. I and

one other teacher were briefly suspended when we too refused the Head's individual orders to us to stop wearing ANL badges. We relented after legal advice from our union offered no support, and the pupils too, in a much more powerless position, were soon forced to return badgeless.

The Head's position was that 'race' was politics and that teachers had to be political eunuchs (again, his own phrase) a position which turned out to be so contradictory, confused and political itself that I do not propose to analyze it here. He was partly paranoid about the links between the ANL and the Socialist Workers Party, the *Daily Telegraph* having alleged that there was an almost complete overlap in their respective leaderships and that the former was clearly a Trojan horse into young minds for the other (a familiar charge against anti-racism, as we shall see). It is ironic that a head who so exemplified most of what the new Right came to vilify in education should be so vulnerable to a discursive attack upon a basically 'liberal' concern. I was unable to persuade him that there was enough of a problem for him or the school to take a stand. At root, his interpretation of my actions was that since racism in the school was not *really* an issue I must have some other agenda, and the only one he could make sense of was a subversive 'political' one. He defined the issue as the necessity of school neutrality between far left and far right, I defined it as the need to take a moral position against an ideology exemplified by latter-day Nazis.

The issue died down amongst the pupils, an opportunity lost. Of the four staff involved, two left teaching disillusioned about its limits in a supposedly 'radical' school and one was passed over for promotion for five years before the Head retired. I was lucky: the father of a previous sixth former on whom I had spent a lot of extra teaching time was the deputy head of another school, and he secured a job there for me without my Head's reference.

My own positionality was therefore shaped. I had a personal interest in racism through my family; I had a factual and theoretical grounding in the issue through my studies; I was aware of largely unchallenged racist atitudes amongst my pupils; I had some connections and involvement with local black and Asian groups; I had met unsuspected but powerful opposition to what I had naively assumed would be a shared concern; I had nevertheless been socialised as a teacher in a climate where teachers wrote their own curriculum and controlled the means of assessment, a climate of possibilities. I was highly motivated to make a systematic *educational* response to racism as opposed to a merely symbolic one, and I had little doubt that it was possible.

After that first school, I became engaged in four different sites of struggle with regard to anti-racism in white areas, and it is in this engagement that my reflections and analysis of others' work is grounded.

The school to which I moved provided scope for the development of a social studies course in which 'race' was a key element. It was also a 'test-bed' for my first experience of trying to work a formal change in school policy. The former was more successful than the latter, but neither met with the suspicion and prohibitions of my former Head. Key experiences here were about pedagogy, tactics, allies and pace.

This period in school overlapped with and was then replaced by active involvement in local education authority initiatives (through a secondment) in two largely white LEAs. In this role I wrote draft documents, sat on advisory groups, co-ordinated 'politicking' by others, ran training for senior officers and advisers. Without knowing it as such, I was involved in an 'ascendant mission', but also experiencing LEA 'mesopolitics' and learning a new diplomatic and persuasive language.

I then moved into teacher education, with three roles: developing initial teacher education (ITE) courses, developing institutional

policy, and providing in-service courses. By this time I was employed as an 'expert', explicitly a change-agent and (to some) a threat. As a 'site' it was the most remote from the lives of black and Asian people and hence the struggle was more attitudinal than material, though to a great extent the role produced conflict with others and required that this be managed (both personally and institutionally). Attempting to change my students' racist frames of reference became a key preoccupation.

This latter 'site' also facilitated action on a larger stage. Over time I was involved in in-service in about 80% of English LEAs, with the corresponding network of contacts, information, solidarity and requests for support. I attended conferences for black activists, literature specialists, mathematicians, head teachers, LEA officers, and parents. I joined the national executives of three anti-racist organisations, ran a conference, wrote a book, appeared on TV, sat on a prestigious national committee. As time went on, I saw the ascendant mission forced into decline and on to the defensive. To an extent, the brief fissure in history had closed.

Overall, then, this is a thesis about fifteen years of educational activism, with its successes, false moves, failures, setbacks, hopes, tactics, internal disputes and finally, its effects.

Some Threads and Themes

While all of this thesis is not action research, a good deal of it is reflection upon action. It deals with different spheres of action: activism, teaching, research, policy development. It deals with dilemmas about engagement with a moral and political issue and the consequent difficulties in teaching about it effectively and implementing institutional change. It is 'a story of action within a theory of context' (Goodson, 1992).

There are threads in the opening chapter which appear throughout. Racism in its changing senses and guises is explored in chapter 2, where I also elaborate on four levels of racism: personal, cultural, institutional and structural, and the 'story' and analysis in this thesis is related to these levels. In Chapter 3 I spell out what I first suspected in my otherwise very pleasant pupils: their degree of casual unthinking racism. In chapters 4 and 7 I reflect upon the factors which facilitate, promote and inhibit educational change, including outside support, leadership style, micropolitics, the characteristics of successful change-agents and how innovation becomes meaningful and important to individuals.

The next four chapters look at the four key sites of struggle in education, beginning in chapter 6 with an overview and analysis of 'policy' on the national stage. Chapter 7 examines different and more successful attempts than my own to change the stance (and the curriculum) of some schools, while chapters 8 and 9 looks at such work in LEAs and ITE.

Chapter 10 examines in detail the difficulties of changing people's orientations and perspectives about 'race' as well as the personal factors which make it easier for some to acknowledge white racism. In chapter 11 I conclude with a model of anti-racist work in white areas, combining a record of past events with a map for strategic action.

There is a recurring theme about racism and Britishness. Racism is not an easy subject for British white people, it is rooted too centrally and often unknowingly in our sense of ourselves and our national self. It is about a sense of superiority which was explicitly part and parcel of British life for three centuries simultaneously with a representation of Britain as leading the world in progress, civilisation and humanity. The paradox of a history of being imperialists and enslavers who represent themselves as enlighteners is one which, perhaps, many people either do not examine very closely, or resolve by perpetuating

that sense of superiority, of dutifully shouldering the white man's burden. The definition of racism which I have employed argues that we live in a racist culture from which we inevitably bring baggage into learning, teaching, administering and decision-making. Anti-racism set itself the task of altering this, either as an educational principle, a moral crusade, or (as the Right portrayed it) subversive politics. I shall argue that the New Right closed off the 'fissure' so effectively because of their perception of the profound threat to notions of Britishness posed by both black people and anti-racism.

Another theme is about the opportunities and frustrations of action, about hope for the possibilities of transformation and change. On more than one occasion we encounter the change-agent's paradox: caring 'too much' makes one less effective, yet having less than total commitment is not enough for the scale of the task. I was once told by some students that lectures about sexism are better given by men because they are less likely to be 'biased', thus defining objectivity as something other than a woman's (any woman's) research and reflection. A similar conundrum is faced by black and Asian people doing educational work on racism: they have to balance the authenticity of their experience against the accusation of having a chip on their shoulders. For a white man too, it can be more pedagogically and institutionally effective not to appear emotionally committed, too over-involved, or actively engaged in one's subject matter: academic distance lends credibility. A too-visible mission excites the resistance of students who do not take kindly to overt and deliberate attempts to 'improve' them and irritation in colleagues in the light of other concerns and other institutional missions. On the other hand, to work at institutional change, to try to bring about a reorientation in one's pupils, students and colleagues in a field where they may be hostile and resistant, requires more than academic distance.

This produces its own research difficulties, generating different dilemmas from some other research into racism. Mac an Ghaill

(1988) describes how he gained entry and trust from his teenage student subjects by being perceived as 'not like other teachers'. Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) interviewed allies. Many others have had the partial advantage of carrying out their work as outside researchers (Carrington and Short, (1989); Cohen, (1992); Foster (1990); Gillborn, (1990;1995); Troyna & Hatcher, (1992); Wright, 1987; 1992)) though clearly they had to deal with issues of commitment, principle and declaring their own position. This thesis records work and research on racism entirely focussed upon white people. In the context of racism it is about the powerful, but more often it is about power located in state agencies and power relations within white institutions, between teachers and pupils, lecturers and students, management and teachers. My research is partly on colleagues and equals, partly on institutional processes in which I have been involved, and partly on less powerful subjects: students and pupils. It is qualitative and interactive but at times infused with power relations: in my teaching roles I was not only male and older, but carried authority both in disciplinary and assessment terms in relation to an issue in which respondents felt uncertain and anxious.

A final theme is also to do with the 'white on white' focus, and it is to do with motive. I argue more than once that there is no obvious benefit to a school or college in a largely white area in developing an anti-racist approach. There are few or no black or Asian students, it will not raise 'standards', it will be difficult and conflictual, so why do it? For some, the motives which emerge will not be compelling. In this sense the thesis is about inertia and hence again about power: the power to do nothing.

PART TWO: THE PROBLEM

Chapter 2

On 'Race' and Racism

In this chapter I want to present an analysis of the development of ideas about 'race' and racism in post war Britain. At times it is somewhat untidy and has features which do not fit neatly into a coherent symmetry between the theories of different actors at different levels and their actions, but this is deliberate: it mirrors my own and many others' strategic shorthand in anti-racist educational and political work.

What I am going to try to demonstrate is that whatever key distinctions it masks, skin colour has been a primary axis on which both racist and anti-racist thought and action has turned. This has partly rested on a particular legitimation of racism, a biological one, which I suggest is - at one level at least - being replaced by something else. Next, I explore the connections with other inequalities before and after this shift in the way racism has been legitimated.

A working definition...

First, however, we need a definition. I take racism to be a pattern of social relations, discursive practices and structures, which have specific outcomes operating against less powerful groups defined 'racially' (explored below). By this definition racism is more than an individual attitude or 'prejudice' and more than crude material power: it is manifested in advertising, news, documentary and fictional representations and discourses (and structured absences in such representations); in hierarchies of aesthetics and knowledge; in racialised 'everyday' language; in laws; in interpersonal encounters; in material indices like

housing, health and employment; in definitions of mental health; in assumptions underpinning the curriculum and educational policy at all phases of education; in the different ways people conceptualise and interpret the social world. It also manifests itself in the way opposition or anti-racism is handled, marginalised, trivialised, co-opted and contained, or undermined. It is not a crude expression of material interest, though at times it may seem to operate in this way. It is contradictory in its relationship with capital, elite power and privilege, and 'order'.

'Race' and biology: the legitimation of racism

Academic and popular discourse about 'race' is often vague about several related key issues and terms. In my own writing (1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1993) I have always placed 'race' in inverted commas to signify that it is a problematic term, but then in common with many others, have used it with reference to groups of people seen as distinctive primarily because of skin colour. In the British context these groups are currently usually referred to by the shorthand 'black' or 'black and Asian', but in Britain and elsewhere terms like 'ethnic minorities' 'multiracial', 'minorities' and 'cultural diversity', are employed in referring to phenomena such as apparent hostility towards religion, language, lifestyle and dress, and extend to groups not necessarily marked out by physical differences, such as Jews, the Irish, Poles, Travellers and Italians.

I acknowledged at the beginning that the analysis and description I will offer, focusing as it does so much on colour, is somewhat forced. Colour is often an easy symbol and marker for racist practices and beliefs, but the real hub on which hostility turns is some alleged *attribute* of people of that colour. Nevertheless, I want to maintain that amidst the unstated, the confusion, the blurring of terms and categories which bedevil this field, there has been a persistent undertow of biological assumptions. This is highly relevant to the educational work I

am analysing: many pupils, students and teachers are working with a more or less implicit biological essentialism and in some ways this essentialism has transferred to anti-racist practice.

'Race' is a problematic term because it does not have the biological meaning many people think it has. Over a period of several years I have examined the definitions of 'race' offered by groups of teachers and students, revealing considerable blurring of concepts from different kinds of discourse.[1] Definitions tend to include notions of appearance and colour (biological terms), nationality (a political term), language, religion and customs (cultural/sociological terms). For instance, when pressed, I have found that most respondents would loosely and inconsistently describe as a 'race': Italians; all black people; the Chinese; Pakistanis; Scots; and Jews, and confusion ensues in the cases of black Jews or Italian-speaking Sikhs.

There is also considerable wooliness over what kinds of things may be genetically determined (like cricketing or singing talent) and how this might be linked to specific populations. To take this latter problem first, folk wisdom attributes more to inherited nature between generations than geneticists do. Many assumptions about inheritance between generations are fairly spurious ('he's good with his hands, just like his father'; 'she's naturally reserved, but then so was her mother'). Of course there could be a genetic component to these, but the nurture element is clearly going to be crucial.

Folk wisdom is no wiser in its understanding of the distinction between physical attributes like strength, and psychological ones like placidity and 'being good with money', or (relatively) simple ones like a good singing voice and more complex composite skills like playing cricket or practising medicine. Some of these things are too complex or too new to be genetically encoded and passed on from parents to children. To claim such attributes as biologically based and to go on to claim them as genetically

shared within certain populations goes far beyond any scientific claim, and in any case is simply not necessary, there are obvious and ample cultural explanations.

Some idea of these assumptions effortlessly permeate public discourse is given by two examples. The first is an article in the *Daily Express* of 9/4/92 (p.31) about women in the British royal family. Managing to combine racism, sexism and elitism, it speaks of the special qualities of reserve and coolnesss of British royal women and quotes a psychologist: 'Stoicism is in our genes. It's a national characteristic, something to do with being an island race....' thus giving the argument an apparent scientific authority. I cannot trace any research in academic psychology which would qualify the person cited to speak authoritatively on this.

Another example is provided by John Major in a speech about school sport:

> I don't regard sport - especially team sport - as a trivial add-on to education. It's part of the British instinct, part of our character (reported in the *TES*, July 1994).

While these are both populist statements designed for specific consumption, they only make sense because they refer to and reinforce common-sense beliefs already in place. They are relatively inexplicit about racism, but that does not matter. These beliefs are rooted in the nineteenth century notion of essentially different 'races', each carrying a package of characteristics - some of them cultural - which correlate with, are signalled by *and determined by* skin colour.

In my own work I frequently encounter students who believe there is a series of significant and fixed patterned differences (genotypes) between human populations who look different (phenotypes). The most frequent 'evidence' cited is the

differential performance of black sportsmen and women and their 'natural rhythm' on the dance floor. The underlying (and mistaken) assumption is that the variant of the gene which confers dark skin and brown eyes simultaneously confers dense bones ('black people can't swim') or a type of tendon ('black people are suited to "explosive" sports') or a special ability to boogie. Thus various other characteristics - physical, psychological, emotional and intellectual - are 'read off' from an obvious one (colour). Actually, white men can jump.

A survey by the Runnymede Trust (*Independent on Sunday*, July 1991) showed that 1 in 7 of the population thought black people were inherently less intelligent than whites. A study by Cashmore (1987) found ideas of this sort often articulated by his middle class respondents, such as a company director employing two hundred people:

> West Indian's intelligence doesn't seem to rise to that degree. Don't ask me why, unless it's that their initial intelligence isn't sufficient to absorb what's required (p.50).

or a Jewish surgeon:

> In spite of adversity, (the Jew) has triumphed. This, I suspect, is due to having a greater number of neurons, being brighter and learning to overcome adversity (p.58).

The explicit biological claim in the second statement has no basis in any known research, although in part this biological understanding of the word 'race' is still with us in common sense because it is still with us in academic discourse. A notorious debate took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s, sparked by Jensen (1969) in the US and Eysenck (1971) in Britain. Their central claim was that black people had genetically determined lower IQs, and though scientifically untenable it was politically

irresistable, so it ran and ran. It was resurrected in the UK by a special edition of the *Oxford Review of Education* in 1991, but with a much higher profile in the USA by Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve* (1994), which was discussed on chat shows, in Time Magazine, and showed up 'on the shelves of K-Marts all over the country' (Fraser, 1995: p.1).

In the mid 1980s the Swann Committee engaged two Cambridge scientists to examine whether there might be a genetic component to the lower measured school performance of 'West Indian' children in British schools. By careful analysis of the figures they found no statistical evidence which could not be clearly explained without recourse to biology (DES, 1985, pp 126-148). What is more interesting, however, is that the question was framed the way it was in the first place: that those with Caribbean backgrounds were seen as a biologically different 'race' who might accordingly have measurably different IQs. What really makes them different is the social value attached to their skin colour, not the skin colour itself.

The key issue here is the frequency of gene variants (alleles) which confer particular characteristics, and why certain alleles tend to occur together. For instance, it is common to think of 'African' appearance as a package involving particular facial features, hair type and dark skin, whereas in fact these are determined by different genes which are not tied to each other and *which therefore vary independently*. Any group which has historically been relatively isolated in reproductive terms will share a great many gene variants, so on this basis it is almost inevitable that a West African will have characteristic tight curly hair and dark skin, but the hair type is not determined by the skin colour, or vice versa. In principle it is quite possible to have tight curly hair and pale skin (a combination found in a small percentage of Norwegians).

Other significant physical attributes do not correlate with skin colour. Blood groups, for instance bear little relation to

superficially observable 'races': Eastern Aborigines are more likely to be able to receive a blood transfusion from many Europeans than from Western Aborigines; organ transplants are as possible between a white Londoner and a Nigerian as they are between two white Glaswegians (see Dunn, in Kuper, 1975).

Thinking of a fixed racial package of characteristics tied to an obvious one like colour is especially flawed when previously separate groups intermix, like the intermixing forced on slave women in the Caribbean and the USA by white overseers and owners. In these circumstances reading off other likely characteristics from skin colour takes no account of the gene pool from which the father came. The phenotype of black Americans and African-Caribbeans is similar to West Africans, but the genotype is significantly different, so it is dangerous for Jensen to argue that intelligence can be 'read off' from skin colour and especially so for Swann not to challenge the underlying logic. Herrnstein and Murray follow the same implicit logic, relying on the proven degree of IQ heritability of within American blacks and their average difference from whites. As Gould (1995, p.13) points out, they then commit the elementary error of attributing the difference to genetics, assisted, I would argue, by an underlying belief that black people *are just different*.

The root of all this lies in nineteenth century European science which had the task of explaining the rest of the world with which Europe was in growing contact and the balance of power within it. This was particularly the case for the colonial powers such as Great (sic) Britain, since it is not possible to colonise people and simultaneously to treat them as equals. As the most powerful imperial nation in the world it was inevitable that ideologies would develop to sustain its power over the empire and its peoples by legitimating it.

> The people of color of the rest of the world were thus variously seen as inferior, if not as animals, primitives, children, true or noble savages, or other

non- and proto-humans... (Van Dijk, 1993: p.159).

At one stage this ideological work was done by religion (see Banton, 1967) but by the mid 1800s a rationalist scientific spirit was increasingly contesting the ideological stage with religion (see, for example, Fryer, 1984 and Jordan, 1968, for the parallel developments in the New World of plantation slavery).

Out of this arose the crude division of the world's population into three main 'types': Caucasoid, Mongoloid and Negroid, and the belief that in some ways culture was determined by or at least related to these types. One clear survival of this was the widespread use until the 1980s of 'Mongol' for those with Down's Syndrome. This usage came about because nineteenth century scientists thought Down's Syndrome in Europeans was a throwback to an earlier more primitive form of human being, and that all Mongolians were in fact 'Mongols'. Some equally explicit survivals of nineteenth century ideas have already been mentioned, but there are many more: the British as naturally inventive, or inherently reserved, or resilient - 'this island race'. The Jews are reputedly avaricious, the Gujeratis good at business, the Latin 'races' naturally, essentially, more emotional or exuberant.

Physical phenotypes as such, then, taken alone, have no explanatory power in terms of social, cultural, historical or behavioural differences between groups of people. Indeed the classification and grouping of human phenotypes for this purpose was long ago recognised as being an explanatory blind alley by most human geneticists or biologists. As Troyna and Williams put it, citing the UNESCO Conferences of 1947, 1951 and 1964:

> The designation of the world's population into distinctive racial categories can no longer be considered a tenable scientific enterprise (Troyna & Williams, 1986: p.3).

What matters, as I said earlier about 'West Indians', is not the physical difference but the social significance which is given to it. Van den Berghe offers this definition of a 'race':

> ...a group of people who are socially defined in a given society as belonging together because of physical markers such as skin pigmentation, hair texture, facial features, stature and the like (Van den Berghe, 1984: p.217).

It is crucial to note, however, that the physical feature may be in part mythical, such as the Nazis' categorisations of Jews (in fact, a Polish Jew is physically much more likely to resemble a Catholic neighbour than a Spanish Jew).

The social value placed on skin colour categorisations is most starkly seen in societies with rigid 'racial' hierarchies. Being ostensibly white is not enough: physically a person may be indistinguishable from a group of whites, but if they are known to have one black great-grandparent then there are places in the USA where the 'one drop' rule would still apply - one drop of 'black blood' and socially they would be black. Away from their home area they could 'pass for white' until or unless it was known they had 'a touch of the tar brush'. In Apartheid South Africa ostensibly 'white' people were regularly legally reclassified 'coloured' on the discovery of some piece of family history.

This is not to say that there were and are no gradations within the group identified as 'other', ie not-white. Historically, in both the Caribbean and the USA being lighter skinned has been associated with higher status, and has a matching vocabulary like yellow, high yellow, quadroon and octaroon to quantify its significance - 'chromatism' as Brah calls it (1992). In the British context, this overlaps in very complex ways with colour gradations between African-Caribbeans and Asians, who themselves have a different history of chromatism originating in pre-British

invasions of India.

Thus while physical phenotypes *per se* cannot explain social, cultural, historical or behavioural differences between groups of people, the social importance attached to the phenotype explains a great deal. As Rose et al (1984) point out:

> Human 'racial' differentiation is, indeed, only skin deep. Any use of racial categories must take its justifications from other sources than biology (p.127).

It is a social process not a biological one which acounts for why black people in the USA earn far less per head than white people and for their disproportionate presence in some sports and many prisons. It is not genetically determined better vocal chords which explains the number of male voice choirs in south Wales, nor is it an inherited package of abilities genetically programmed into English middle class girls which accounts for their overwhelming presence in ballet schools.

British post-war racism: the significance of colour

As I have already indicated, it is perfectly possible for a group of people to be socially identified as a 'race' without a clear physical marker such as skin colour. In the Nazi regime Jews were an obvious example of this (though it is worth noting that they were consistently represented as physically different - see Supple, 1993, pp.80 & 91). Nevertheless, for much of the post-war period in Britain (and in much of the English speaking world) I would argue that 'race' in political and policy discourse has meant 'colour', whatever other terms, overlapping categories, or euphemisms have been periodically used. Clearly colour may have symbolised other things and hence be a shorthand, but it has been the primary signifier of difference, and as I have already argued, the signified difference has been biological.

This preoccupation with colour has meant that policy and research have concerned themselves primarily with ethnic minorities of south Asian or African-Caribbean descent. As a result, groups significant in terms of discrimination - perhaps most notably the Irish but also the Chinese - have been marginalised or forgotten both in analysis and in practical measures, but for the moment I can not do other than reflect that absence and examine its implications, not least for people of colour.

Colour as signifier is shown most clearly in politics. Debates about immigration in and out of parliament since the mid-fifties have been about 'coloured' immigration (Solomos, 1992). Some of the many laws restricting it have been explicit enough to say so in their titles (eg in 1962, and 1968) while others use 'patriality' (1971) or nationality (1981) to codify it (Foot, 1965; Runnymede Trust 1985; Bhat et al, 1988). As Van Dijk (1993) points out, however, these measures are always accompanied by denials that 'race'/colour is an issue, denials often heard in the debates on the 1995 Asylum Bill.

The main academic 'race' texts from the 1950s to the 1980s state their preoccupation in their titles: *The Colour Problem* (Richmond, 1955); *White and Coloured* (Banton, 1958); *Dark Strangers* (Patterson, 1963); *Colour and Citizenship* (Rose, 1969); *Because They're Black* (Humphrey and John, 1971); *Black British, White British* (Hiro, 1971); *Black and White Britain* (Brown, 1984) and those that do not, reveal the same emphasis in their contents (Banton, 1967; Rex, 1967; 1973). Without exception, the comparisons made about housing, employment or any other index are with white people, notwithstanding any distinctions made within the group defined as 'not-white'.

None of this should be surprising. A large part of the reason colour has been a significant factor in social discrimination is, clearly, a widespread understanding that it is indicative of other key qualities and attributes. At its crudest, what immigrant people of colour have all shared in British post-war

eyes is their recent or actual subordinate status in the empire. It was hardly likely, whatever the rhetoric of late empire and Commonwealth, that they would be greeted as equals.

The evidence of discrimination

There is clear evidence of physical 'race' as a persisting and significant social marker, related to patterned differences in the jobs, earnings, housing and life chances of people with clearly darker skin compared with those of white people. I now want to examine these.

In the first decade or so of black and Asian immigration a few academics produced monographs (Richmond, 1955; Rex, 1967; Banton, 1959) and there were celebrated political/media events such as the Bristol bus boycott in the 1950s and Sir Learie Constantine's civil action against a London hotel, but there were no large scale or systematic studies of discrimination. Since then, four key studies (Daniel, 1968; Rose, 1969; Smith, 1976; Brown, 1984) described in considerable detail a pattern of discrimination resulting in a persistent outcome of lower pay and poorer provision, revealed in housing, occupations, promotion and unemployment. Lord Scarman's report after the uprisings of the early 1980s observed:

> There are indications... that unemployment among members of the ethnic minorities is of longer duration than that among the white population... discrimination - by employers and at the work place - is a factor of considerable importance....
> ...ethnic minority groups... suffer from the same deprivations as the 'host community' but much more acutely. Their lives are led largely in the poorer and more deprived areas of our great cities. Unemployment and poor housing bear on them very heavily: and the education system has not adjusted itself satisfactorily to their needs. Their

> difficulties are intensified by the sense they have of a concealed discrimination against them, particularly in relation to job opportunities and housing (Home Office, 1982: 2.35).

(He says 'ethnic minorities', though he is clearly referring to colour since he counterposes the term with 'white.')

Brown, in a 1992 summary of research and developments including his own 1984 study, concludes:

> All the evidence suggests that there have been changes in the employment patterns of black and Asian people in the past decade, but that they are not converging with the employment patterns of whites, and that earlier injustices and imbalances continue to set the boundaries within which change can occur (in Braham et al, 1992: p.58).

In 1994 the Runnymede Trust produced a compilation of data from government sources indicating that this broad pattern persists, though it makes some internal distinctions (for example, Indians are twice as likely to be unemployed as whites, Pakistanis three times as likely). However, black and Asian people as a whole are more likely to live in areas of multiple deprivation, measured by such factors as low average earnings, early school leavers and overcrowded and poor quality housing.

Daniel's report provided the impetus for the 1968 Race Relations Act, and while Conservative Party conferences regularly hear motions for its repeal, we might reasonably assume that it keeps its place in the statute books because there is some agreement that a degree of discrimination persists. (The Runnymede survey in 1991 found that 38% of white people thought the law in this respect was 'about right' and a further 31% thought it 'not tough enough': *Independent on Sunday*/Runnymede Trust, 1991.)

The vast majority of cases investigated by the CRE have always involved members of groups identifiable by colour. To take but one example notable for its formalised racism, the investigation into St George's Medical School (CRE, 1988a) revealed a computer programme routinely discriminating against non-white applicants. It was used as a simple, non-problematic, physical index, apparently unmediated by any intervening considerations for individuals on the basis of religion, or language or culture.

A small study commissioned by London Weekend Television's *The London Programme* is the most recent example of many similar studies in the past. In asking 20 employment agencies in the capital if they would supply only white staff for some catering work, only seven refused. Several studies (eg Brown & Gay for the PSI, 1985) have sent black applicants to job vacancies followed by white ones, to test how often the vacancy is closed to black applicants. *The London Programme* found that out of 53 cases 30% discriminated. The 1985 PSI study revealed a similar figure, with a much lower level of discrimination against a foreign but European researcher. A Harris survey of 300 black and Asian Londoners (linked to the above programme) found that more than 70% felt that their ethnic background would make it harder for them to get a job than whites, and that 62% felt that over half white Londoners were racist (full details in Runnymede Trust, 1994b).

In less specifically economic ways, too, one can see the social significance of colour. Harassment and racial attacks have been commonplace for years in some urban areas (CRE 1981; Home Office, 1989; 1991) and are recognised as an inter-agency issue (police, social services, housing, education) in several shire counties. The Harris survey for *The London Programme* found that 26% of young Asians and 41% of young African-Caribbeans have experienced harassment or abuse in public places. A parliamentary answer in April 1993 revealed that in 1992, 7,793 racial incidents had been recorded in England and Wales, 41% of them in London. Most of these relate to incidents of slogan writing, the next largest

category was use of abusive language, though there are some boroughs where assaults are more frequent. Between 1991 and December 1994 there were six racial murders of juveniles by juveniles and numerous examples of severe beatings, stabbings within the same age group. Colour is a distinguishing feature of all these incidents.

While some of this data is compiled by the police, it is has been acknowledged in recent years that the degree of racism within at least some police forces parallels that found outside. An investigation commissioned by the Metropolitan Police into the attitudes of its own officers revealed

> Racial prejudice and racialist talk are pervasive in the Metropolitan Police... and some officers appear to cultivate a rhetoric of abuse of black people....The researchers never heard anyone explicitly oppose such talk or make the speaker feel that s/he was boring, speaking out of turn, or erring against unspoken conventions or inhibitions (Smith & Gay, 1983).

The use of terms such as wog, coon, nigger, spade, monkey, spooks and sooties constituted, said the report, 'a vein of deliberately hostile and bitter comment on black people'. This account is echoed in the 1990s by two successful prosecutions of provincial police forces by officers who had met prejudice and resulting discrimination from workmates and their employers. The army, too, has been subject to critical examination, a study revealing severe under-recruitment of black soldiers and expressing concern at

> ....racist attitudes encountered in interviews at all levels of the service (Peat Marwick McLintock/Ministry of Defence, 1990).

Education has only partly echoed this concern with colour. Educational responses to the black and Asian population are

discussed in detail elsewere, but in general terms we can note a series of cultural concerns (language, religion, diet, socialisation) and a developing story of poorer school achievement (DES, 1985), accompanied by a denial - until the 1980s - that 'race' was an issue. Thus education, the institution which has always had more dealings than any other with black and Asian people, has generally tended officially to minimise the significance of colour.

At the level of general public attitudes, the survey of national attitudes most contemporary with this study is that conducted by the Runnymede Trust in early 1991 on behalf of the *Independent on Sunday*. It found a mixture of at times contradictory attitudes and beliefs among white people, for instance that black people are treated worse by employers (39%) and the police (48%) but better by housing authorities. The majority of whites (57%) thought that Britain was 'fairly racist' with another 10% saying 'very racist'. Answers from African-Caribbean and Asian respondents to every question showed that they felt the situation was worse than whites did, and all ethnic groups felt that things had deteriorated over the previous ten years. There were other interesting tendencies: one was to overestimate the number of black and Asian people in Britain by over 100%, another was for people to distance themselves from discrimination - the fault lying mostly with institutions and employers. 62% said 'I would happily have people of a different race (sic) living next door to me' and 56% opposed the idea of strict ethnic endogamy.

The media has been a crucial source of representations of the 'otherness' of people of colour. Van Dijk points out that in matters to do with 'race' the media has more than merely an agenda-setting role or one of inducing particular specific 'effects'. It is both ideological and structural since for most people it is the main source of information and beliefs and it has some power to control and influence other elites.

Due to the specific and nearly exclusive role of the

> mass media in communication and and the production of public discourse, other elites need the media to inform both the public at large and each other, to exercise their power, to seek legitimation, and to manufacture consensus and consent (1993: p.243).

Hartman and Husband (1974) and Troyna (1981) found that the undesirability of 'too many' black and Asian people did not need to be spelled out, it was simply assumed throughout the 1970s (the period of their studies) by all the national papers giving out their unambiguous messages of immigration being a problem. The media played its part in previous eras, of course: tales of colonial adventure in the *Boys' Own Paper*; condescending *Illustrated London News* accounts of royal visits; outraged reporting of the Mau Mau rebellion in the newspapers of the 1950s, patronising mixed feelings about Rhodesia in the 1960s. All these must have contributed to the climate in which 'the new empire within Britain' was received and represented.

To some extent the representation in the 1980s shifted to one of conflict, though in the 1990s it is considerably more complex: cool sophisticated models; muggers; wealthy musicians; rioters; smart urban kids; drug dealers; grasping Asian businessmen; illiterate fundamentalist muslims; arranged marriages. Individual newspapers tell simpler stories: Searle (1989) found the *Sun* presented almost a 'daily dose' of racist messages including the recycling of old images of cannibals, cooking pots and fakirs on beds of nails. Media fiction has also contained a 'structured absence' (Hall, 1985) of non-problematic, even ordinary, roles for Asian and black actors: there are villains and subordinates, but few police inspectors or soap opera characters. Van Dijk (1993) argues that negative topics like crime tend to become over-ethnicised and positive ones de-ethnicised.

As with all the other cited studies there is no ambiguity in Van Dijk's analysis that while there are necessarily other aspects

(taken up below) the key axis on which media racism turns is colour. He employs the terms 'ethnicity', 'minorities' and 'immigrants' but always counterposes them with 'white'.

To conclude this section, much of the above data, supplemented by some from Skellington and Morris (1992) may be summarised as follows:

- black and Asian people are more likely to suffer from racial attacks, ie assaults or property damage with no motive of theft or gain;
- poverty is also correlated with 'race', as are many of its key determinants (high unemployment, low pay, shift work, poor social security rights);
- the risk of unemployment is greater for the black and Asian population;
- racial discrimination operates in employment at the point of recruitment and selection and promotion, and has been found in recent surveys to be present in the armed forces, at least some police forces, major national employers, government training schemes, the law and the health service;
- there is a measureably different pattern of health care provision;
- barriers seem to exist between black and Asian people and the same welfare benefits taken up by white people;
- black and Asian council tenants are more likely to be in poorer accommodation and owner occupiers are in, on average, older, smaller and less valuable properties;
- there are markedly different patterns of arrests, remands and sentences between the black and white populations;
- in complex ways the mass media produces varying representations of black and Asian peole as 'other', or problematic, or marginal.

A model of racism

The definition of racism given earlier is at one level of generality, the account of British colour-racism is more descriptive. Between these two is a model of how racism can operate and be analysed at four different levels or modes. In Cole (1989) I suggested these as personal, cultural, institutional and structural.

Personal racism is no more than racial prejudice on the part of individuals in the dominant group. It could be conscious and deliberate: 'Get out of here, I don't serve your kind here', or unconscious but discriminatory, like only picking blond children to be nativity play angels, or unconscious and patronising: 'I do admire the natural sense of rhythm of the Africans'. A distinction, via membership of the dominant group, between personal racism and personal prejudice, is elaborated later.

These kinds of thoughts and actions are necessarily contained within a set of cultural frameworks, messages and assumptions: *cultural racism*. This defines, expresses, values and moulds discourses, aesthetics and images (literal and metaphorical) about groups defined 'racially'. In essence, it is part of what Gramsci called the hegemonic apparatus, the mechanisms by which common understandings about 'race' are produced. Some examples would be: the assumption that music has reached its highest forms in Europe; 'great art' means European art, (collectively, Eurocentrism); English is somehow a 'better' language than, say, Hindi; non-Christian religions are primitive; 'we' have a more highly developed sense of justice than Africans; other peoples wear costumes while 'we' wear clothes; it can even be encoded in street names. Cultural racism not only assumes peoples are different, but that 'we' are better than 'them' and is scarcely avoidable by anyone brought up in an ex-colonial or post-slavery society. (From here is derived the argument that all white British (Ruddell, 1983) or white Americans (Katz, 1978) are racist.) 400 years of conquest and rule of other peoples,

although now over, leaves a scarcely conscious sense of superiority in many of us.

It is important to add that for the moment I am using the term 'cultural racism' descriptively, as a label for a set of cultural assumptions, rather than analytically. I am not suggesting that the idea of cultural superiority is the real ideological root of racism, indeed, the basis of my argument is that the deepest, most enduring legitimation has (so far) always been biological.

Institutional racism describes practices, rules, codes and procedures which have outcomes disadvantaging one 'racial' group compared with another. The evidence demonstrates that these outcomes contain colour as a significant, indeed critical, variable. They may not set out deliberately to do so: they may perhaps date from a time when most of the population was white, literate in English and Anglo-Saxon, so they operate in such a way as to exclude those who are not. Common examples would be: assessments standardised on white pupil populations; word-of-mouth recruiting in a white workforce; key 'enabling' information for linguistic minorities printed solely in English; cultural assumptions built into allocation or selection criteria for schools, housing and jobs. Of course, these could be put in place or maintained with the deliberate intention of having a racist outcome, but they could also simply be the continuation of routine procedures originally devised in different circumstances. Many of them come under the legal category of 'indirect discrimination'.

Structural racism exists when it is part of the fabric of a society, when a 'racial' group are disadvantaged not just in unexamined practices but in laws, hegemonic discourses and in social structures. Structural racism exists when the other three forms permeate the key institutions of the state and society. Black and Asian people in Britain are experiencing structural racism since:

a) some laws operate against them in particular (the

Immigration and Nationality Acts are the most obvious);

b) they are positioned and represented as more or less threatening outsiders ('swamping') who need acculturation in school assemblies, literature and history, and if all else fails in mental hospitals and prisons;

c) they experience systematically poorer life chances in key indices to do with employment, health, housing and the criminal justice system.

This model, in conjunction with the overall definition given at the beginning of this chapter, illustrates firstly, that in all sorts of subtle ways power is a key element of racism and secondly, that this need not be true of personal prejudice. Prejudice 'exists' at a psychological level and in some cases can only be exercised interpersonally, racism is more than that.[2]

Personal prejudices can figure in the complex map of 'race' relations in many different ways: black and Asian people can be prejudiced against whites as easily as the other way round; Pakistanis can be prejudiced towards the Irish, Jews towards Indians. A key difference, however, is that these psychologically equivalent 'prejudices' have different causes and different effects. The stereotypes upon which prejudices hang did not come about in a vacuum but in the context of specific power relations, so (without wanting to propose a crude racial dualism) white British people's prejudices towards black and Asian people have their origins in our colonial past, our subjection and domination of those peoples, and the beliefs which evolved to justify and legitimate this. Some of these have been modernised into fear of economic decline, anxiety about national self-image and identity, structural unemployment and the conscious and unconscious quest for a plausible 'cause'. Black and Asian prejudice against whites has its roots in the same history, but a different experience of it.

So much for causes. The effects of different groups' prejudices are even less equal, because black and Asian people in the UK on

the whole do not have the power to disadvantage whites, they cannot normally be played out in a cultural, institutional or structural framework like that detailed above. Of course I do not own the language or the word 'racism', but I would suggest that it is very unhelpful to blur the distinction between personal attitudes on the one hand and key features of how a society operates on the other, by using the same word for both.

This sounds like the often cited formula Racism = Prejudice + Power, to which we need a coda. In much of the period described in this thesis this formula was a powerful shorthand tool used by many, myself included, to emphasise the structural nature of racism. It takes no account of the fragmentation and variability of power and identity which I shall discuss later, nor the possibility of racist outcomes without any prejudiced intentions, and it reflects, above all, the 'racial dualism' that a more sophisticated anti-racism should seek to eschew. To repeat, however, it was a powerful practical tool.

One effect: Racialisation

One of the outcomes of the evidence about and the conceptualisation of 'race' and racial discrimination as being primarily about colour, is the growth of 'ethnic' monitoring in several private and state enterprises (see Bhat et al, 1988, for some history of this). The argument for such monitoring is that unless one knows, in relation to particular groups, the ratio of applications to successful appointments, allocations, promotions or student places one cannot know where discrimination might be happening, and hence where to take corrective action (of whatever kind). Quotas are unlawful in Britain, but a potential measure of actual discrimination would be evidence from such monitoring that particular groups were under-represented.

It is presumably indicative of some awareness of the problems embedded in the concept of 'race' that this strategy to combat 'racial' discrimination is called 'ethnic' monitoring, though the

Commission for Racial Equality (an advocate of monitoring) is well aware that other attributes of black and Asian people besides colour correlate with disadvantage. Typically the monitoring forms divide everyone into 'black' or 'white' and then into sub-categories like 'Indian' - whites having no significant ethnicity, apparently (CRE 1984; 1992b). The 1991 Census got itself into an impossible conceptual tangle when it was trialling questions which mixed biological, political, ancestral and religious categories.

The key point here is that ethnic monitoring is predominantly 'race' monitoring in recognition that 'race' is a real and significant category socially, without conceding that it is a valid category scientifically. The problem is that such procedures necessarily ask applicants to self-assign, whereas the problem the monitoring mostly seeks to address is the way people are assigned by others. What Reeves (1983) calls benign racialisation is embarked upon by some authorities in response to malign racialisation, defined by Miles (1988) as the

> political and ideological process by which particular populations are identified by direct or indirect reference to their real or imagined phenotypical characteristics in such a way as to suggest that the population can only be understood as a supposedly biological unity (p.246).

Racialisation and Language

By the early 1980s the accepted wisdom in liberal and left circles in education was that the key determinant of the kind of inequality we are discussing here was 'race' and more specifically colour. The underlying causes may have been economic, historical and ideological and more specifically related to culture, but more than anything else what correlated with receiving the worst treatment was skin colour. This became symbolised in the way the new use of the word 'black'

> ...coined as a way of referencing the common experience of racism and marginalisation in Britain ... came to provide the organising category of a new politics of resistance, amongst groups and communities with, in fact, very different histories, traditions and ethnic identities (Hall, 1992: p.252).

The usage in political linguistics began, of course, in the USA of the 1960s. The slogan 'black is beautiful' had been adopted by those of African descent as an act of linguistic resistance

> ...to rid themselves of the negative connotations of the word 'black'; for them 'coloured' is a euphemism, an apology for a skin colour which is linguistically and socially defined as undesirable (Gaine, 1987: p.218).

The article from which this is taken was written in 1983, and represented my own attempt to clarify this hazardous area of terminology. It continued:

> Being unable to ignore or sweep away the social distinction white people had created, black people went for redefining its significance in American social consciousness. The same process can be identified in a modified way in Britain.... let me suggest that the word 'black' has a limited applicability in the same sense as it has in the USA, namely a group of people socially defined not by themselves initially but by the majority (dominant, white) group. 'Blacks' are socialy defined by derogatory terms, by the discrimination in, for instance, employment which we know takes place; by the conditions of the Race Relations Acts which were designed almost entirely with them in mind; and by the operation of the Nationality Act. Thus 'black' in Britain is a socio/political term; it defines a group

> of people who have in common certain relationships with society, i.e. experience of racism, and it is widely recognised a such by 'black' people themselves. Used in this sense, it is unlikely to cause offence, and there is a consistency in meaning even when referring to groups as diverse as Ismaili Muslims from the Gujerat via Kenya and British-born children of a Welsh mother and a Trinidadian father (Gaine, 1987: p.219. See also Brah, 1992: p.127).

This is not, however, as simple as I once thought. Banton is probably right when he says:

> My guess is that most white people in ordinary conversation would use the adjective 'coloured', whereas most white Labour Party activists, most white social scientists, most white people in the mass media and most Afro-Caribbeans would make a point of saying 'black' (1987: p.328).

He might have added that (at the time) most Asian people actively involved in the struggle against racism would also have called themselves 'black', especially if they were young, but this has changed. Even then, there remained many Asians, and not just older ones, who preferred to be called Asian or even coloured, but certainly not 'black'. I have heard this written off as a surviving post-colonial divide-and-rule mentality, but some, having no illusions about white attitudes towards them, nevertheless see 'black' as implying Africa (eg Modood, 1988). Others are suspicious of a word which tries to lump so many different groups conveniently together.

There are two issues here and neither has been static in the past decade. The first is about groups being defined by their oppressors, and the second is about what kinds of things become salient defining characteristics.

Mode of oppression and mode of being

Racialisation is the process that happened to people who settled here from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent. From being simply 'people', or Muslim Mirpuris, or Sikh Panjabis, or Barbadan Catholics they became immigrants, and 'coloured' immigrants at that. They shared some aspects of a colonial heritage and the perceptions of inferiority which went with it, and they shared the bottom end of the British labour and housing market. They were the poorest and the least protected by institutions like trade unions (or the law). They were also readily identifiable by colour and it was in these terms that parliamentary debates, documentaries, white riots in Notting Hill, research and the first anti-discrimination laws were framed. Whether they liked it or not they were positioned 'racially' by a powerful set of material and discursive practices.

This is not to say that hostility was not expressed in terms of culture, or cooking smells, or language, but it is to say that the primary axis on which discrimination turned was colour. In this sense it was racism in the most old-fashioned way, the attribution of essential and unchangeable differences tied to colour, or in Brown's phrase, '...the assumption that non-whites were naturally less desirable people' (1992: p.47). Whatever Enoch Powell may have meant, it is my view that this is the resonance struck by him in 1968 when he said:

> The West Indian does not by being born in England, become an Englishman. In law he becomes a United Kingdom citizen by birth, in fact he is a West Indian or Asian still (at Eastbourne, 16.11.68).

On the long road to combat this imputed primacy of colour, common cause was made between south Asians and African-Caribbeans as 'black' people opposed to the discrimination they faced. Gilroy calls it

> ...the unifying tendencies of racist activity which regards the racial characteristics of both 'Pakis' and 'niggers' as being equally worthy of hatred (1987: p.39).

The discrimination, this *malign* racialisation, was analysed predominantly in the language of the left, and 'race' was seen as a sub-category of class, a physically defined underclass, and 'racial' relationships and inequalities were seen as a modality through which essentially class relations were lived out (Hall, 1980; Sivanandan, 1982). Benign racialisation took the form of policies, measures, and statistic-gathering aimed at reducing the discrimination faced through 'race', and became an important issue in urban politics and administration by the late 1970s (especially but not entirely in Labour boroughs). Gilroy (1987) calls it municipal anti-racism.

The label 'black', whether employed in benign racialisation or as part of the construction of a positive identity by members of oppressed groups, is nevertheless an essentialist one. It responded to a crude categorisation and was itself necessarily crude. It made a key point but it is no longer enough: it made few distinctions of culture and none of class within the category 'black'; it theoretically included the Chinese but in practice seldom did so; it gave whites no ethnicity and struggled with whether the Irish were 'black'.

Crude myths about 'race' remain and there is still a clear imbalance of power and influence, but the picture has become much more fragmented. It is time, as Modood (1992) argues, to go beyond 'racial dualism'.

Ethnicity

The insistence on 'black' as a strategic political category is, in Modood's words, defining people by their mode of oppression. In his view the differences, conflicts and changes within the

'black' population require that people should now define themselves by their own *mode of being*, what is most salient to them, not in the terms by which they are marginalised, positioned and dehumanised by others. Thus 'ethnicity' becomes important.

An ethnic group is a group of people who share a history, key cultural features - such as religion and language - and a range of less definable customs perhaps associated with marriage, food and the like. It may be that the group are distinguished by some physical features (hair, eye or skin colour, height, facial features) but this need not be universal or excluding, or so at all. In the UK an example of a group distinguishable both culturally and physically from others would be Bangladeshis, while the Welsh would only be distinguishable culturally (to varying degrees).

For Modood, ethnicity presents the opportunity of being a mode of being, whereas historically 'race' has only been a mode of oppression. Ethnicity is about how people define themselves and mark themselves off from others. In this sense Jews are an ethnic group, Panjabi Sikhs are an ethnic group, British Poles are an ethnic group and loosely speaking so are the Welsh. This is not to say there are not sub-groups within these or that the boundaries are neat and tidy, but it is to say that they are self-defining groups smaller than the broad categories 'black' and 'white'. Some of them are likely to become more important than they have been in the past in politics and policy making, for instance in the provision of separate schools on religious grounds, or the uniting over the Rushdie affair of many members of two ethnic groups, Bengalis and Pakistanis, divided by language but making common cause not as 'Asians' or black people but as Muslims (not least, as Modood points out, because of a sense of 'besieged insecurity' on the part of Muslims who feel they are not valued or respected (1992, p.5; see also Modood, 1990).

If culture and ethnicity are becoming more salient, then clearly

'racism' is no longer a simple black and white issue. There are Irish people, Chinese and Jews who barely received a mention in much previous literature (though see Taylor, 1987, Runnymede Trust, 1994a). There is not a homogenous 'black' underclass; there are sub-groups enjoying a relatively good economic position and there are aspects of identity (like gender, sexuality, language or religion) which for some people are more salient than colour or ethnicity, depending on context and on how constantly they are positioned by others. Brah (1992, p.129 & p.140) develops this point further, tentatively theorising four key aspects of 'difference': difference as *experience*, as *social relations*, as *subjectivity* and as *identity* while warning of the potential essentialism of 'ethnicity'.

Culture and the New Right

If Modood is right, and this trend continues, ethnic minorities might seem to be curiously in step with the New Right. The Right (with the exception of the storm trooper wing, the BNP) no longer rest their case on biology. They used to, at one time they suggested explicitly or in coded form that white British people were, biologically, inherently superior, but this is no longer the intellectual basis for their wish to halt and reverse immigration from the 'New Commonwealth' or the core of their definition of 'British'.

Their argument is now one of cultural superiority or at least manifest appropriateness. British culture is a precious but fragile evolution, the argument goes, and it should not be undermined or challenged by alien influences which are either less sophisticated or at best more suited to somewhere else (see Barker, 1981). At the political level, clearly framed in cultural rather than biological terms, there is the interview with Thatcher during the 1979 election campaign:

> People are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different

> culture and you know the British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world, that if there is any fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in (TV interview, 30/1/78).

and the famous Falklands speech:

> There were those who would not admit it... but had their secret fears that it was true,.... that Britain was no longer the nation that had built an empire and had ruled a quarter of the World. Well, they were wrong.... The lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history (Speech to Conservative Rally, Cheltenham, 3rd July 1982).

As Rushdie (1983) suggested at the time, even her strongest detractors would have to agree that she often effectively expressed many people's deep-seated sentiments.

New Right, New Racism?

In trying to unpack the notion of racism in post-war Britain I have linked four related elements. I have explored who is identified and defined 'racially' and on what basis; how racism is cashed out in life chances, relationships and representations; how these manifestations of racism may be conceptualised in a model; and how the basis of racial categorisation has been by turns reclaimed and now, possibly, rejected. I now need to explore this latter shift and also to link the whole argument to wider patterns of oppression and subordination.

First, if there has been this transition in the focus of and response to hostility, and to its legitimation, how, with regard

to these changes, are we to understand the term 'racism'?

The definition offered earlier spoke of groups being 'defined racially'. I have been arguing that historically less powerful groups have been so defined in terms of biology, though progressively through the 1980s a more 'cultural' and 'ethnic' rationale came to be employed. Some argue this is 'racialisation', I am inclined to think of it the other way round, what is happening is the culturalisation of originally 'biological' categories.

> Race was ...replaced by ethnicity; racial differences by cultural differences, for example those of language, religion, philosophies, customs, norms, and values; and racism by ethnicism (Van Dijk, 1993, p.163).

Barker also argues that scientific racism has been superceded by the 'new racism', a belief that certain groups of people, usually national groups, have distinctive, inherent and superior ways of life which are threatened by outsiders.

This 'new racism' is generally seen as rooted in the intellectual ferment within the Right dating from the mid 1970s. Levitas (1986) sees this as principally an argument between competition and compliance, the economic liberals following Hayek versus the social traditionalists/authoritarians typified in Britain by what Edgar (in Levitas, 1986) calls the Peterhouse School. On 'race', the gap between them is about the free movement of labour versus state concern for and intervention in culture, and this seems to be (partly) bridged by various discourses conflating 'race' and nation, allowing even the ultimate free-marketeer Hayek to write to the *Times* proposing (black and Asian) immigration control (1/3/78).

Edgar draws attention to the 1978 publication of *Conservative Essays* by this group and its striking preoccupation with

reasserting ideas of nationhood and 'race' as 'a spiritual glue'. Their utopia involves appeals to authority, national identity, national security, and 'nature', so rather than wishing to reduce it they propose state intervention into any aspect of life which promotes sovereignity, historic continuity and national identity. Hence the alleged need for a National Curriculum: it is part of the larger cultural project of the social traditionalist faction of the Right (this project is explored in more detail in chapter 6).

Logically, the merging of concepts of 'race' and nation ought to be called 'culturalism' or perhaps 'ethnicism' (argued by Mullard, 1985 and Brah, 1992) but it almost never is. What it shares with racism in the old sense is its essentialism: conceptually it still relies upon fixed and immutable qualities. Indeed, at times there is an explicit biological argument that it is 'natural' or 'intuitive' to feel a sense of belonging, of kith and kin, with those most like oneself, so the cultural sense of nationhood is grounded in the nation being 'of common stock' (see, for example, Scruton, 1980: p.68). The naturalness of nationhood is challenged by

> ...the imposition of mass immigration from backward alien cultures ... [part of an attack]... on patriotism, the family, and... all that is English and wholesome (Sherman - Director of the Centre for Policy Studies - *Daily Telegraph* 9/9/76).

The shift to a cultural legitimation of racism should not be taken as too absolute, since there is a constant slippage in New Right literature between the identification of 'the Other' by culture or by colour. This is exemplified by this statement from Casey, the editor of the first Peterhouse publication, which moves backwards and forwards between physical and cultural signifiers of difference:

> If the account which I have given of the 'immemorial

> acceptance' of authority within the British state, and the immemorial loyalty that goes with it, be correct, then there must be at least a potential problem should a community exist in large numbers, which defines itself because of its numbers, culture and other observable characteristics, in separation from the rest of the community ... do we not have the grave apprehension that the great English cities are now becoming alienated from national life ... large... black and brown communities will turn Britain into a different sort of place? (Casey, 1982, cited in Seidel, 1986).

Ashworth (1983), in the Salisbury Review, writes of nations as 'mytho-genic zones' a very explicit merging of the cultural and biological in a new term of his own invention and Brandt (1987) warns us,

> ...'race' has the tendency to be synonymous with 'culture' and to be premised with the assumption that ...all races are ethnic groups and that these have an identifiable culture which is representative of the group as a whole (Brandt, 1987 p.96).

Clearly, however, in this mutant form the 'new racism' still oppresses, so that culture or ethnicity become modes of oppression rather than modes of being, ethnicism is substituted for racism.

While this is a critical difference between the arguments of Modood and the New Right, there is nevertheless a striking congruence between the two: both insisting that culture is what matters most. For one it is a route out of the old black/white deterministic dualism, for the other it may amount to the same thing.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, there was a furious debate about

how racism in education was best tackled. The liberal reformers held that a focus on culture was the key, the radicals argued the real issue was not whether someone was a Hindu or Gujerati speaker or not, since that was a mere smokescreen for racism. The New Right are now saying (perhaps we did not believe them before) 'No, the real issue *is* whether someone is a Hindu or not, because Hindus do not belong here, and neither do Muslims, and there is no place for Gujerati.'

No longer expressed solely in biological terms, it seems to have become respectable to represent certain minority cultures as irredeemably alien. Some very highly publicised examples of this have involved parents, actively supported by right-wing pressure groups, either campaigning for local curriculum changes or a change of school. The parents' leader in one case was at great pains to argue that they were not racists because their complaint was about culture (BBC, 1987), an argument echoed (or perhaps initiated) by the leader of the right-wing group supporting them (Naylor, 1990). The wish for an 'English Christian education' was constantly reiterated throughout these incidents, serving both to deny racism (in its old sense) and to legitimate it in its new.

The educational implications of this can, of course, be seen in the National Curriculum over which the New Right had a not inconsiderable influence: British history, standard English, and mainly Christian RE, the construction, Ball (1994) argues, of an ethnic Englishness. The question is becoming, not whether someone can be black and British (and a Conservative parliamentary candidate for Cheltenham), but can they be Sikh and British?

> ...'nation' as an over-arching concept is a very particular and characteristic focus of the British New Right's ideological and discursive practice (Seidel, 1986, p.109). (For a further discussion of this conjunction of 'race' and nation see Gilroy, 1987,

chapter 2).

The ideological core of racism is a belief in the superiority of one group over others. The 'Others' are currently defined by a confused mixture of essentialist qualities rooted in biology, culture, or a confused amalgam of the two. The confusion will doubtless remain, and it is perfectly possible for the crude primacy of colour to reassert itself politically in right-wing action and policy. The apparent promise in the cultural argument that those who adopt 'our' ways will become accepted and equal was not, after all, kept in the case of German Jews: in the 1930s they were the most physically and culturally assimilated ethnic group in any European country.

Other oppressions and inequalities

The last part of the definition suggested at the beginning reads: ...(racism) is not a crude expression of material interest, though at times it may seem to operate in this way. It is contradictory in its relationship with capital, elite power and privilege, and order'. This is to say that no straightforward alignment of Marxist or neo-Marxist class categories can be made with 'racial' groups, though Sivanandan (1982), Moore (1975) and Hatcher (1983) among many others argue that such an analysis is productive.

Sivanandan, in particular, represents immigrant workers as a super-exploited part of the proletariat, a view which easily accords with the situations of black and Asian under-paid, non-unionised and dispensible manual workers of infamous employers like those at Grunwick and Imperial Typewriters. In this sense 'black' people continue the colonial tradition in which they were not only grossly exploited but also part of a hierarchy which served to divide the working class, preventing the formation of a proletarian consciousness against the ruling class.

Under conditions of colonialism rigid racial hierarchies are enforceable, but without such conditions it is no simple matter to keep such a hierarchy monolithic and inflexible. In ostensibly rigidly dichomotised racial societies like the southern USA (Warner, 1947) and South Africa (Van de Berghe, 1978) the fault lines between racial status and economic class were constantly threatening to crack open: impoverished shopkeepers nevertheless turned away black customers, while their town councils turned away new factories, lest the consequent spending power of black workers fractured the precarious white racial caste status.

Post-war Britain could not hope to attain even that level of precarious racial rigidity, and in any case there is more to capitalism than a cheap, powerless and inflexibly racialised workforce. The emerging complexities of identity described above, the increasingly different economic positions of different individuals and sub-groups within the broad category of 'black and Asian' and the inherently essentialist notion of a unified 'black struggle', all make Sivanandan's analysis inadequate for the 1990s, however much it may have characterised parts of the struggle in earlier decades.

Viewed from the other end, too, the disputes within the New Right demonstrate that the oppression of black and Asian people is about more than economics, and indeed may run counter to naked capitalist logic.

Footnotes

1. My claims here are based upon systematically asking ITE and inset students over several years to write a definition of a 'race', followed by analysing the results both on paper and orally with them. Discussion invariably reveals the extent of the confusion, typically producing basic questions about the issues discussed here.

2. The notion of prejudice is explored further in Chapter 5. There I argue that although it may be conceptualised as 'existing' as a predisposition within individuals, we cannot usefully speak of changing or reducing prejudice without seeing it as embedded within a context of social relations.

Chapter 3

Racial attitudes in largely white areas

What is a 'white area'?

The main focus of this thesis is the shire LEAs of England, so 'white areas' is rather a wide and sweeping term. In terms of having restricted contact with black and Asian people I want to distinguish three broad levels. The demography involved is derived from OPCS (1993).

There are largely white areas in London, though these are never far from another characteristic of the capital, Britain's highest residential concentrations of black and Asian people. Similar contrasts can be found in Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford and other English industrial cities. These white areas I shall call 'adjacent': their populations inhabit a largely white area but are part of a multiracial city in most aspects of their lives, usually including schooling.

There are also areas peripheral to these cities, like parts of rural Yorkshire, which make considerable use of them through commuting, shopping and entertainment. Here there is more of a distinction to be made between the 'whiteness' of people's residential, social and school lives and their contact with black and Asian people in other spheres. This is a further level of separateness which I shall refer to as 'peripheral'.

Broadly speaking, there is a third level of separateness: 'isolation' - exemplified most obviously by Norfolk or Cornwall - where almost all of the population have no first hand contact with Asian and black people at all, in any aspect of life.

The levels are more complicated than mere geography, of course. Depending on occupation, social class, family connections and

age, some people in Croydon will be to all intents and purposes 'isolated' while others in Hampshire could almost be in the 'adjacent' category. Young people in the shires, especially those at school, are likely to be more isolated from black and Asian people than parents who commute; young people schooled in 'adjacent' areas are likely to have more contact with black and Asian people than many of their parents, for whom class and occupation would be significant additional variables.

The mass media, especially television, both reinforce and diminish the effect of geography. On the one hand they bring a multiracial society into everyone's living room, on the other they keep it at a distance, potentially exotic, puzzling, or threatening. Hartmann and Husband (1974) found that on probing answers to some open ended questions about 'race' with the question 'How do you know that?' 32% of adolescents cited newspapers or TV news and

> The reliance on news media as a source of information about coloured people [sic] and race is particularly marked among people living in areas where there are few or no coloured people.... (p.161).

They found higher levels of hostility in adjacent or mixed areas, based (in their view) on situational factors and social norms, but

> Conceptions about the general state of affairs, about what the important facts about coloured people are, the idea that there is a problem appear to depend in part on what is taken from the media (p.162).

While it may well be that music, films and drama are now partners with news in the media's agenda setting role, Van Dijk (1987 & 1993) sees no reason to suggest that this role will have changed in the twenty years since Hartmann and Husband's study:

> ...media power is especially prominent in ethnic affairs because of the fact that large segments of the white public have little or no alternative information sources on ethnic affairs.... most white people have few everyday contacts, and hence few immediate experiences, with minority group members or immigrants (1993: p.243).

Cashmore (1987) provides a clear example of this from one of his respondents:

> ...if you had three youths committing a crime, one would be black; about a third all the way through. I think blacks are more vicious in crime. They seem to have no compunction or compassion whatsoever, no sympathy even. They will do anything, it seems to me, to do a decent crime. They'll stick screwdrivers in people, that sort of thing. I only know what I read in the newspapers of course (p.51).

On the other hand, Troyna and Hatcher (1992) provide a useful reminder that media influence can be contradictory. In their study of primary school children in mainly white schools they show how positive anti-racist messages (usually from soaps) are recognised and cited by children, as well as messages about black people's alleged predisposition to violence and stereotyped Africans (the latter still from old Tarzan films).

The role of education as a medium, for good or ill, should not be forgotten here. The school curriculum can convey a range of messages as well as give pupils the tools with which to examine them, but this is examined in much more detail in chapter 7.

No problem here?

On the whole, I would characterise the areas where I have worked and built up this study - Wiltshire, Sussex and Hampshire - as

mixtures of 'isolated' and 'peripheral' so it is mainly these kinds of areas which I will discuss next.

There is a strikingly widespread assumption that racist attitudes towards black and Asian people are less likely in largely white areas, especially isolated ones.

> Well, there aren't so many here, so there's not that many to be prejudiced about, so to speak, is there? (interview, Plymouth, 1991).

This is the logic of 'no problem here', of racism being something which ethnic minorities themselves spread by their presence. It is belied by the experience of the small numbers of black and Asian people who live and work in isolated areas, many of whom experience exclusion, hostility or open abuse (though a convoluted racist logic would still argue that if they were not there then no racist incidents would happen). Some newspapers and TV documentaries have drawn attention to this (eg. Akhtar, 1986, Bansal, 1990 [*TES*]; BBC, 1991, 1993; Guardian, 1991) and national attention was drawn by the media to the racist murder of a Sikh shopkeeper in Wales in November 1994, but there have been only two systematic studies focussed on isolated white areas in England - the south west in 1992 and Norfolk in 1994/5, both conducted by the CRE (who also reported rising harassment in Scotland in 1992). The Commission's foreword to the south west study says

> The Report presents a disturbing picture of racial prejudice and discrimination directed against ethnic minority residents. While a few organisations and individuals are taking positive steps to promote racial equality, there is mostly widespread complacency - or worse - in the majority white community as a whole (CRE, 1992, p.5).

In one sense the complacency of the 'no problem here' stance is

unremarkable. Racism in the urban areas of England where it has become an issue has done so because there are victims of it who object, so the issue becomes concrete in terms of employment practices, provision by the local state, or conflict. In educational terms this has generally meant policies and practices aimed at meeting the needs of black and Asian people, and only belatedly included educating whites. Later, after the publication in 1985 of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (The Swann Report), several all-white education authorities placed the attitudes of whites on the educational agenda (rather than the disadvantage or particular needs of blacks and Asians), but since this agenda was attitudinal and educational it is hardly surprising that health and other state agencies did not address 'race' as an immediate problem for them.

While explicable in terms of the absence of immediate targets, the idea that a racist frame of reference (Figueroa, 1984) would be less common in a white area does not bear serious analysis (indeed, this was shown in American research as long ago as the 1930s - Katz & Braly, 1933). It may be less salient: racialised patterns of employment, housing and interaction do not need the daily sense-making in Exeter as Cohen (1991) argues they do in East Ham (although Troyna and Hatcher (1992) suggest Asian shops as 'an important social site in terms of race') but such sense-making is part of a wider pattern of images from the past, political discourse and media representation - cultural racism at the very least - in which everyone in Britain is obliged to participate.

Thus, while it is inevitable that the expression of racial hostility in white areas where there are fewer first-hand targets will be different from racially mixed areas, it is not the case that there is 'no problem'.

Evidence about adult attitudes

Some of the findings and evidence explored in the previous chapter have no necessary grounding in multiracial areas - cultural racism, for example, very clearly does not depend for its existence on the presence of Asian or black people. Nevertheless, it is useful to set out what we can about the specific characteristics of 'white areas' racism.

An unusual and detailed examination of racial attitudes in such areas is provided by Cashmore (1987), from which I have given some examples in chapter 2 and will draw upon later for some data about young adults. From 800 interviews in four areas in the west midlands (two very mixed, two peripheral) he tries to spell out the structure - 'the logic' - of racial attitudes. (Ironically, one of his sub-headings - *It's easy to be a liberal in Exeter* - echoes the title of the CRE report on the south west: *Keep them in Birmingham*).

He analyses respondents by class and age: those under 21, between 21 and 50, and over 50. For the purposes of making a link with the ITE students discussed later and in chapter 10, one important group is the middle class one in the age-range of their parents: they provide the home context of any learning about 'race'. These are people living in affluent areas like Egbaston and Solihull, their proximity to Birmingham makes such areas peripheral and gives them a good deal socially and economically in common with my students, who are predominantly from the Home Counties.

Cashmore identifies three themes as integral to the middle class perspective on race relations:

- the resistance to any form of compulsion (i.e. government 'interference' in personal attitudes);
- the need for ethnic minorities to assimilate to white cultural patterns;
- the stress on individual potential and application as the

way forward (p.52).

In his interviews these recurrent themes of assimilation, taking people as individuals not as members of groups, and a mistrust of 'official' persuasion or compulsion constantly emerge (themes worked in different ways by both strands of the new Right). These themes allow his respondents' own attitudes to be defined as 'not racist', for racism to be seen as essentially personal (not, therefore, cultural, institutional or structural) and to culturally predispose them to resent positive action in any aspect of education or anywhere else. This constellation of views will reappear in detail amongst the group of ITE students focused upon in chapter 10.

Cashmore comments:

> If this is racism it is racism generated not by deprivation but by precisely the opposite: having sufficient resources to avoid confronting race relations (p.43).

With working class respondents, Cashmore finds more examples of an accepting approach to a multiracial society in his mixed areas than in the peripheral ones. Lacking the resources to 'avoid confronting race relations' in the event of more Asian and black people moved near them, tenants in these outer ring council estates expressed more fears and resentments than either the middle class or the inner city dwellers who lived in the very multiracial society they dreaded. They resented the perceived threat or 'affront' of Asians' cultural maintenance, while they saw African-Caribbeans as

> ...content to amble along in a parasitic way, sponging off the state and augmenting their unearned income with the spoils of robberies. 'We don't have to worry too much as there aren't enough to make a football team. If there were three times or even twice as

many, we'd have to look over our shoulders... (p.23).

It seems reasonable to surmise that if these untested fears are present in the peripheral west midlands, they are likely to be found in other similar areas, and perhaps in an attenuated form further away: *Keep them in Birmingham*. As we shall see in much more detail, these perceptions are also to be found amongst teenagers and children.

First encounters...

My first encounter with and research into young people's attitudes was accidental, I began to notice the incidental racist vocabulary and assumptions of the teenage pupils I was teaching in an almost entirely white school in Wiltshire:

> I don't like being served by one of them with a turban in the motorway cafe because I think there might be all... like flies and things underneath it...
>
> [of her white neighbour, whom I knew] He's the man who has all those niggers come to see him...
>
> [on seeing some intricate 15th century Ashante sculpture] Who taught the coloured people how to make these?
>
> Sir, why do Pakis always have big houses? (Diaries, 1978).

The following two extracts are representative of one quarter of a class of 12 year olds simply asked to write about 'Britain's problems':

> *I think that human population is a problem. It's a problem all over the world because there are so many immigrants in the different countries, and many of*

them get over-populated. In Britain there is at least 40% black and Pakistani people. This means that 40% white people will be out of jobs. If Britain only let about 10% immigrants (crossed out) black and Pakistani people in to the country then they would be able to keep the population down to a minimum. I think that different countries should keep their own people there except for holidays and only a certain percent may enter of leave the country at that time of year.

Over the last few years the human population has been slowly increasing with all these foreign people coming over. This is beginning to cause a problem. At night and day you get fighting between the blacks and whites, there is the National Front, people getting dirty and smelly homes as well as people getting bad jobs. What should be done about this is to send the blacks and other foreign people back to where they came from, only let them come over here for holidays (written in 1979, cited in Gaine, 1987).

I received the following passages in 1984, having asked the class of 13 year olds to write about 'black and coloured people in Britain' along with several other current affairs headings.[1]

A large percentage of British people resent the presence of black and coloured people. Their view is perhaps justified. Britain's economic problems are far from new, and these people add to the unemployment and housing problems. Racism is responsible for much of the fighting and disruption which this country suffers from. Although they have a right if they are permitted to live in this country it causes trouble and violence...[...] I therefore feel that black and coloured people should be restricted in the places that they live. Many Pakistanis have also come to Britain. This causes the same troubles as coloured or

black people. I feel that they should not be allowed in this country as it causes many racial problems, and much friction. They do not fit in well with the British race, and I think they would do far better to stay in their own country and live the Pakistani way of life (Caroline).

I think some of the white people don't like the coloured people then they get causing trouble. The coloured people shouldn't be allowed into Britain, they have their own place and they cause trouble when they are here. The coloured people wouldn't like it if us white people went over there to live. I think Pakistanis are horrible people (Tracy).

As with several later examples there seems to be a selective ignorance about colonial history. The solution of racial conflict by the removal of the victims was a depressingly common proposal.

Black people shouldn't be allowed to live in Britain. Our country lets these people in too easy. In Africa, they make a big fuss if any people want to live in the south of Africa. If they stop other people living in their country then we should do the same. It is alright if they visit the country but they cannot live here. Already a lot of black people are in Britain today. Soon they are going to over-run the country (Christopher).

The entirely mixed ability class was divided almost equally in their views, though the majority expressed feelings which were predominantly negative.

Since then, I and many others have repeated this kind of exercise with similar classes in schools all over England, with strikingly similar results (see Gaine, 1987, 1995; Roberts, 1988; Massey,

1987, 1992). In terms of teachers' usual notions of 'ability' there is no obvious correlation with the kind of viewpoint expressed. Few pupils are neutral or non-committal, all seem to recognise that the topic is one to have a strong opinion about. Jobs are frequently mentioned, as is language and religion. The majority are unable to distinguish between Pakistanis (nearly always Muslims), and Indians (in the town where I began this work, nearly always Sikhs). The mixture of apparently contradictory attitudes was often striking, for example an apparent acceptance followed by a vehement denial of religious freedom. They frequently combined good intentions with an anxious dislike:

> *Really, I don't mind black people in Britain as most don't hurt us in any way. Though some people are a bit prejudiced I don't mind them over here as long as there isn't many of them. If anything it's the black race that really get the pounding as some aren't allowed in pubs or to join in some activities. So, as long as there is a certain amount of them I think white people will always rule this country. Though there is a danger of black people having families and the children, because of growing up in England, will stay* (Adam).

> *I think having black and coloured people in Britain is fantastic. I think we should mix together. I mean, the've got as much right as we have. They are not for Britons to whip and slap. They're very good workers, good doctors. English people haven't got the brains and patience to do much hard work. The only thing I don't want to see is them taking over the country, just to be friends to it. And I want Britons to be friends towards them. What's the matter with Pakistanis, they're all right, they're no different from us except their religion. I don't mind but why don't they go back to their own country?* (Amanda).

It is difficult to equate the contradiction of the last sentence in each of these with the main sentiments expressed, which at least demonstrate some awareness of racism, (it cannot be the Asian/black distinction mentioned below since Amanda mentions Asian doctors earlier). But this is a point I shall return to.

> *I think black and coloured and white should be treated all the same as we are all human beings. But what I don't agree with is the people who come over here because of troubles in their country and come along and think they can live the same as they did over there, keeping their religion on, silly things like that, what sort of meat they eat and other such things. If they are going to live in our country they must live our way, if we went over there and asked for wine I'm sure they wouldn't change their ways so we could have it* (Gary).

Here we have a generalised moral position to begin with, starkly contrasting with the unequal treatment with regard to religious freedom which he then recommends. The equation of Saudi Islamic laws on alcohol with those of all black/Asian/Eastern countries is common, as is the idea that most black and Asian people in Britain are refugees:

> *I think that in a way black people should not be allowed in our country, just because they've been kicked out or thrown out of their country. But I don't see we should get such a vast number living in Britain. Why couldn't they be sent to other countries? People who get onto the blacks and coloureds shouldn't really, because they're only human like us and they should be able to live in a country with no trouble. But when they start trouble I think they should be punished just like us* (Simon).

Again we have here a mixture of benevolence and apparent goodwill

combined with clear support for repatriation. There is also a confusion of immigrants and their descendants with refugees, (at the time probably a confusion left over from the Vietnamese boat people, but ably exploited a decade later in the 1995 Asylum Bill, when the teenagers I am quoting are in their 20s and able to vote). In this piece, as with a later one, there is the idea gleaned from somewhere that black people resent being punished, that they get away with things whites would not. None of this can conceivably be first hand experience.

A common distinction between and preference for African-Caribbeans rather than Asians is evident in the following quotations. The hostility is often expressed in terms of, for example, 'taking over shops', although almost as common is apparent resentment at perceived cultural distance.

> *I think black people and coloured people are taking over jobs. The Pakistanis wear turbans for a religion and bang their heads against a big wall and kiss the wall, and they smell* (Neil).

> *I think black people should be allowed in Britain. Most of them are friendly and well mannered, but Indians I think should go back to their own country. They smell and they take our jobs and houses. If there wasn't so many Indians then there wouldn't be so many people out of work. Most Indians think they own the place. They were brought over here as people to work in the railways but then they started up their own businesses and took over. Blacks don't smell and there aren't so many of them. I've got a lot of black friends and I get on really well. But Indians are so big headed it makes me feel sick. Pakistanis should be banned altogether from this country* (Lorraine).

> *The black people came over to our country to get jobs when it is hard for the white people to get jobs. They*

come here and take our jobs so we can't get none. I reckon that they should get back to their country and stay there. And the Chinese should go back as well. The Pakistanis take over all our shops, they try to even scrounge money to stay open on Sundays. All Pakistanis do that and when you walk in their shop they smell of curry (John).

I think the black people should live in a society where they won't be talked about as not a human species. Even though I call blacks names they can take the mouth. They take over most of the shops and usually they smell of some sort. In a road near here you go in their shop and you can't even understand them. They don't go around calling us names. Pakistanis are taking over the population. When the school bus comes we have a Pakistani driver that wears a turban. We have a Pakistani doctor who does our BCGs. I think they should get out of the country unless they were born here (Michael).

Many people are against coloureds and also against blacks. There is a lot of people who would like to see coloureds and blacks chucked out of this country. They always stir up too much trouble and then don't like being punished for it. Every coloured person likes and wants everyone to give them what they want when they want it. The Pakistanis always wear turbans. The reasons for this is their religion. The Pakis have a very strong religion. Most of them are friendly but you get the odd few that are violent. They also do not get married normally because marriages are all arranged. Also they are pigs (Neil).

The pervasiveness of these kinds of attitudes determined the direction my teaching life took for the next decade, though I

would suggest there is still a degree of surprise or denial in those who assume racism is a kind of infection which follows black people around.

In official terms the scale of the problem gained some recognition in the mid 1980s. The Swann Report provided some authoritative evidence from different LEAs about the racial attitudes of white children:

> [A]... major conclusion which we feel must regrettably be drawn from the findings of this project, is in relation to the widespread existence of racism, whether unintentional and 'latent', or overt and aggressive, in the schools visited.... The project revealed widespread evidence of racism in all the areas covered, ranging from unintentional racism and patronising and stereotyped ideas about ethnic minority groups combined with an appalling ignorance of their cultural backgrounds and life styles and of the facts of race and immigration, to extremes of overt racial hatred and 'National Front' style attitudes..... (DES, 1985, p.234).

A few further points need making by way of comment and interpretation of the attitudes expressed. Firstly, the geographical and political confusion is clear, as is the mistaken asociation between various economic problems and the immigration of black and Asian people. Secondly, the kind of limits and restrictions on entry favoured by these young people had already been in force for twenty years, partly because of the misplaced fear of being over-run which they were still expressing. Thirdly, the similarity of such comments gathered by myself and subsequently others from Cumbria to Cornwall also needs re-emphasising: these young people were misinformed not ignorant. They were not expressing random, chance misconceptions but patterned, learned, stereotyped beliefs (as well as, in many cases, hostility).

It is striking how often their comments begin with apparent goodwill and good intentions and later combine these with confused bigotry. The following is a particularly compelling example:

> *Black and coloured people are equal to white and any other colour. It doesn't matter what colour you are so long as you are a good kind person. I'm glad Britain accepts any person(s) that are any colour. I am certainly not prejudiced and love the common fact that the colour of the skin has nothing to do with the heart. Although we do get thrown back when the question is asked about a black man or lady wanting to marry a white man or lady. Will God accept this? My views on black and coloured people in Britain are perfectly normal. Love is the greatest thing since Moses parted the sea. Also comparing the church (Christian) to the black church (gospel) I prefer the gospel church. Any colour does not matter, it's your personality that counts. Pakistanis are the same as anybody although they don't tend to be social with anyone else they stick to their own language, so I think if they're gonna be like that they can go back to their own country. I don't mind the colour but when it comes to the religion I will rule that out, all this babble and boys having to grow long hair, heads in turbans and hankies. What a load of rubbish* (Kara).

Perhaps they begin by writing what they expect teacher to want, then give in to what they really want to say, or perhaps the brief period of thinking and writing reminded them of the scale of our difficulties and so they dive for simple explanations and simple solutions (like repatriation). On the other hand and more optimistically, they may literally be in two minds and not know what to think. There is a strong current in their writing of belief in justice and in 'treating people as you find them',

while on the other there is a series of knee-jerk responses many have internalised about black and Asian people. They have an individualist language for someone they know or might imagine in their class, but no information or concepts which might enable them to construct different views about black and Asian people as a whole, other than those which circulate, by default, in the 'common-sense' they grow up into. This can often be reflected in their positive and accepting behaviour towards a black or Asian pupil, coupled with a strong antipathy towards 'blacks' or 'Pakis' as a whole (see Bansal, 1990 for a graphic personal account of this). This feeds the myth of 'no problem here'.

Similar complexity has been noted in very different areas, for instance in white working class areas of London adjacent to districts with a black and Asian presence. A stereotyped view of skinhead gangs recruited by the far Right does not fit the complex picture described by, for instance, Cohen (1992) or the Sagaland study of Thamesmead (University of London Institute of Education, 1992):

> The recognition of the confusions within and the sources of the racial attitudes we encountered amongst 10-14 year olds is ... very important... We do not take the view that youngsters simply are or are not racist in their attitudes - although in some rare instances we did encounter children with unambiguous hostility to all minorities. For the most part what we found was a blend of voices - the 'natural common sense' of inter-racial friendship, the 'all people are equal' ideologies of school and official morality, mixed in with accounts of black criminality, housing allocation unfairness, hostility to Asian entrepreneurialism or African-Caribbean youth culture (University of London, 1992, p.33).

The late teens and early twenties

The above evidence is about teenagers, my claim being that it is reasonably representative of the attitudes of large numbers of their peers throughout England (I have no direct evidence of Scotland or Wales). What happens when they are a few years older?

In any thorough sense we do not know. The national surveys about racial attitudes (eg Runnymede, 1991; British Social Attitudes, 1994) do not distinguish in their results between residents of the cities and the shires (though the British Social Attitudes survey does reveal widespread negative attitudes amongst young people). As part of his larger west midlands study, Cashmore (1987) finds a similar pattern with young working class adults in peripheral areas as reported by Cohen (1992, above). He also argues that while proximity is by no means a recipe for racial harmony, there is a qualitative difference in the attitudes of those who have grown up with black and Asian people in mixed estates and schools, compared with those who inhabit adjacent white working class areas.

> In a tightly packed area like Newtown where a dense ethnic (sic) population and a high unemployment rate virtually guarantee daily personal contact... (racial) ... divisions are under some pressure. Racism is often replaced by a sense of mutual tolerance or even cameraderie.... In an area like Chelmsley, however, the reverse is true; the absence of daily contacts leaves the divisions intact and, indeed, creates the basis for open conflict (p.93).

Similarly, in peripheral areas he finds that middle class young adults labour

> ...under the middle class malady of underexposure... they accept ideas and images rather than think them

> through, or, where they do think them through, they only have a limited amount of raw material to work with (p.100).

Like their middle class parents, they express strong assimilationist sentiments, an 'unflinching dogmatism in defending the British way of life as the norm to be adapted to' and echo their parents' views on the true nature (personal) and extent (exaggerated) of racism.

> In the absence of any meaningful, sustained social intercourse, at school or after, middle class youth are bound to rely on worn out notions that are never tested out on reality... Parental values and assumptions transmit readily from one generation to the next amongst middle class sectors, where the availablilty of competing values and assumptions is scarce.... (p.104).

My own primary interest and source of data on this age group has been young people from peripheral and isolated areas engaged in ITE, for the most part drawn from families and areas like those described by Cashmore. There is little published work on student teachers' racial attitudes. Richards and Antonouris (1985) discovered some flippancy in the way the issue of 'race' was regarded, as did Cole (1992) who, from a questionnaire to ITE students about post-war immigration found 30% of respondents gave 'intentionally racist' answers.

Such data is not easy to gather directly in any detail, since all but the most naive (or committed and consciously racist) student would be wary of expressing overt racism too publicly. It is possible, however, to ask students what they have *heard* about black and Asian people, thus revealing something of their 'racial socialisation' without requiring them to expose their own beliefs.

Comments produced in one such exercise, repeated over five annual student cohorts[2] revealed the following, strikingly negative, recurrent themes, indicated by the frequency of key expressions (N=390):

'They should go back to where they came from'	42%
'If they come over here they should accept our ways'	26%
'They're just different, they don't belong here'	20%
'They smell'	20%
'They're violent, they cause trouble'	18%
'They are thick'	16%
'They take all the jobs'	14%
'They're scroungers, they're lazy'	14%
'They have funny food'	12%
'There's too many of them'	8%
'They're dirty'	6 %
'They have loads of kids'	4%
'They're good at sport'	4%
'They're good at dancing'	4%
'They lower standards in the schools'	2%
Miscellaneous negative	26%
Miscellaneous positive	2%

46% of the students mentioned an average of three abusive names each for black or Asian people.

Analysing individual cards reveals some connections between these ideas. The idea of black and Asian people being unwelcome is linked most of all with the notion of them as troublemakers and with perceived difficulties about 'difference'. Other connections are less patterned, but repeat stereotypes linking, for instance, low intelligence with physical or sporting prowess.

We cannot extrapolate directly or simplistically from these comments to the students' own beliefs and perceptions - as a lecturer with some power over them finding this out would present

considerable methodological and ethical problems.[3] Their reported comments do, however, provide insights into the ideological climate in which they have grown up and they are highly congruent with the overtly stated beliefs of those four or five years younger which were explored earlier.

Before the teens...

If we move down the age range to ten-year-olds a less explicit or structured set of assumptions emerges, analysed well in Troyna and Hatcher's (1992) study of 'everyday racism' in mainly white primary schools. They had mixed populations from 'peripheral' areas, so were not strictly comparable with isolated schools with a mere handful of Asian and black pupils, but they nevertheless provide useful recent evidence and a conceptualisation of key processes. They dwell mostly on actual interactions and incidents, distinguishing between 'hot' and 'cold' racial name calling: the former often taking place between friends in a temper, meant to hurt but having no commitment to their content; the latter being used to deliberately taunt other children 'for fun'. Both draw on (and arguably reinforce) pervasive negative ideas, but in neither case is the relationship between beliefs and behaviour simple and straightforward. As before, there can be a gap between relationships between individuals and wider social attitudes: co-operative looking playgrounds with apparently 'well integrated' Asian or black children are not always all that they seem.

As regards racist beliefs, Troyna and Hatcher provide compelling evidence of racialised children's culture, but not of widespread, systematic, coherent racist ideas:

> ..'race' and racism are significant features of the cultures of children in predominantly white primary schools... [but] racism has conditional status in people's lives; conditional, that is, on the extent to which it can be used to make sense of their world....

> The inticate web of social relations in which children live their lives and the particular set of material and cultural circumstances in which this is embedded have the potential to highten the salience of racism as an appealing and plausible explanation for 'the way things are' (1992: p.196).

They examine the salience of 'race' in young children's lives not solely through extrapolations from the political climate nor from counting specific kinds of incidents. In effect they argue for a model (p.40; derived from Waddington et al, 1989) which considers the key processes, influences and forces which define experiences as 'racially' salient to children:

> - the overall *structural* effect of racialisation in terms of power relations and conflict (exemplified in the parental anxieties cited earlier);
> - the available and accessible *ideologies* of both racism and anti-racism (often derived from politics and the media);
> - *culture*: 'the lived experience and common-sense understanding within the locality and community, especially as refracted through the family and its networks';
> - the *institutional* locus of the school, with the 'ideologies, procedural norms and practices' which it diffuses and promotes;
> - the *sub-cultural worlds* of children themselves;
> - the *biographical* features sometimes unique to particular children;
> - the immediate *context* of a particular event (an argument, accident, rivalry, etc);
> - finally the *interaction* between the children, with all its characteristic intensity, the actual details of what is done and said and by whom, draws on (and feeds into) all the above.

As with Cohen's work cited earlier, they argue not that children

are 'racist' or 'not racist' but that shifting and at times contradictory sense-making takes place.

Something of the tentatively racialised perceptions of children in more isolated settings may be shown from some of my own research involving story-completion exercise involving ethnic minorities, children being asked to complete a story beginning *'You are sitting at home watching TV when suddenly, there is a knock at the door. You go and answer it, and standing there is a black man'* (or Chinese girl, Muslim, African woman etc.) '

Typically, between 50% and 60% of a year 6 class will write something signifying a sense of threat, fear, hostility, pity or perceived strangeness (indicating something of Troyna and Hatcher's structural and ideological features):

> *Hello, my name is Sushi, could you please direct me to Chopstick Road?*
>
> *..... I switched on the TV when the news came on: 'Today we bring you the news that Mrs Harris that evil murderer has escaped from prison. At the moment she is going around dressed as a Chinese girl.*
>
> *....[The Indian]... then got hold of her and tied her to the bed. She was very scared and she didn't know what to do so she screamed and the Indian put some selotape over her mouth...*
>
> *...[The black man]... reached inside his long grey rain coat, he pulled out a gun and said 'And where's your money...?'*
>
> *...they found [the black man] upstairs in the loft and they put him in jail.*
>
> *I asked the Pakistani 'Where do you live?' 'I haven't*

a home at all I am homeless could I stay here for the night please?'

When I got back the [black] pizza man had gone and he had taken the microwave.

Yet these are not responses from negative, uncaring children who are simply hostile to ethnic minorities: the 'homeless Pakistani' above was immediately invited to spend Christmas with the family. And such children, like the teenagers discussed earlier, are also capable of genuinely accepting relationships with an individual whilst simultaneously being hostile towards the group to which they belong. For example, on a preliminary visit to one of the classes in Hampshire where I carried out the above exercise, I observed of one of the very few Asian (Bangladeshi) boys in the school:

> Sawar seems confident and secure in relations with other boys in class. I spoke some Urdu to him with very positive response - keen for others on his table to hear him speaking. He explained to others differences between Urdu and Bengali. Clearly they were aware he was Muslim, ate no pork etc. (field notes).

Yet on the day they did the story-completion exercise, after a few moments' discussion of their stories a girl who had relatives in London was assuring everyone that they were virtually the only white people left in the capital. When the class was asked, in relation to the sorts of things some had written about Pakistanis, whether anyone had ever actually *met* one, several indicated the Bangladeshi boy. None of Sawar's friends corrected them.

In discussing such written work with them afterwards, most of the children concerned acknowledged that they knew 'nasty names for people with black or brown skin' but were anxious to assure me

they would not use them.[5] Almost without exception, in each of the seven schools the ten-year-olds said they learnt racist vocabulary from older siblings or teenagers just a little older than themselves, who used them routinely.

It is possible that their real sources are parents and the children are perceptive enough to want to protect them, but this is not my interpretation. Especially where an issue puzzles or confuses them, or one where they receive mixed messages, pupils often raise differences between what they are told at home and at school. Troyna and Hatcher also offer some support to this view, speaking of children gleaning ideas from adults in their families and 'trying them out' in discussion with peers, as well as giving examples from their interviews of children disagreeing with their parents' views.

In their small towns, the relative 'innocence' of my ten-year-old respondents may be prolonged. It may really be true that racist terminology does not become part of their active vocabulary until they are a little older. But by their own evidence and from that presented earlier about adolescents, what happens to these children between the ages of ten and fourteen is that they are socialised into a set of negative stereotypes and a language which demeans and stigmatizes black and Asian people as groups. This comes not for the most part from parents or in any crude or simplistic way from the media, but rather from the culture and climate of the adolescent peer group they grow into. If Troyna and Hatcher's model is transferable to more isolated areas, then it may be that the sub-cultural sphere grows in importance with age.

It is also likely that these beginnings of a racial frame of reference are ready to be employed if it becomes more salient, for example if there are any first-hand targets. Akhtar (1986) was spurred into researching the experience of isolated or solitary Asian pupils in primary schools by her own five-year-old coming home from school in Norwich declaring that he wanted a

white baby '...because I don't want a brown baby'. She found routine, commonplace name-calling and bullying in primary schools, '...a quiet erosion of identity and self-esteem, brought about by nice white children on nice brown children.' Donald et al (1995) found a similar pattern in central Scotland, reported by both black and white pupils though unnoticed by their teachers.

Very young children

In examining the evidence about children younger than ten, there is a pervasive unwillingness in many adults to recognise that young children notice 'race', a belief in the innocence of children (Menter, 1989; Epstein, 1993; Siraj-Blatchford, 1994). This is despite evidence of negative racial attitudes in younger juniors and infants which has been available for many years: Goodman published a detailed study in 1964 - perhaps discounted as American - but there is also Milner's British work published in 1975 and updated in 1984, and Alhibai's in 1987. Jeffcoate (1979) was one of the first to identify this as a problem in white areas. He outlines the experience of some primary and nursery headteachers of schools with small minorities of mostly Indian and Pakistani children (in peripheral areas). They began by doubting the research evidence on racial attitudes in young children presented by Jeffcoate, or at least denying its validity in their own schools. He got them to play a game with their pupils, consisting of the children imagining they are cast adrift in a balloon which then lands somewhere they would not like, and now write on.... They also tried other things, more appropriate to different ages, but all of which illustrated considerable racial prejudice. Jeffcoate quotes one head as saying:

> As the result of observation and some research I became aware that prejudice did exist among the children in my school. I should have said quite firmly before my participation in the project that this was not so (1979: p.12).

Accounts from some ITE students in Sussex primary schools suggest that things have changed little in the succeeding fifteen years.[6] One, a black woman, on entering her teaching practice class for the first time, heard from a seven-year-old 'Oh God, it's a wog'. Another left some early readers with illustrations of black children in a book corner together with a running tape recorder, only to find a range of comments which the children seemed to know, at six, they probably should not say in front of a teacher (Jamieson, 1991). Another happened to have some charity Christmas cards showing Jesus, Mary and Joseph with dark skin, which prompted a discussion among a handful of eight-year-olds about 'Pakis taking over everything, even Christmas' (Walder, 1991).

Conclusion: the White Highlands

In this chapter I have really been reviewing the evidence which motivated me as a teacher to become involved in anti-racist work. Whatever else this entailed, it has meant engaging with racist attitudes and discourses rather than with what might be called more material racist practices. The evidence in this chapter shows that while proximity/distance and interaction are key factors in the development of racist ideas, this is not the simple matter 'common sense' would have us believe. Children and adults are not isolated from racism because they are isolated from or residentially peripheral to black and Asian people, indeed their racism can take on a particular character which both echoes metropolitan racism and ossifies a simplified form of it.

My own evidence (both systematic and anecdotal) and material from other sources produces a piecemeal but consistent picture of confusion, learned misinformation and (at times) hostility in which children and young people have to grow up. It is sustained not for the most part by people's interpretations of their own first-hand contacts or by immediate fears or anxieties, but in important ways by media and political representation about violence, numbers, difference and Britishness; perceptions and

interpretations in a few real encounters; 'folk wisdom' which may be unchallenged by schools; anecdotes from friends and relatives in a culture of unchallenged beliefs, 'jokes' and shared assumptions rooted in the past. There are contradictory discourses about acceptance, individual worth and justice on which young people draw, but they seem less powerful.

For individual Asian and black people this can result in experiences of hostility or exclusion (though it need not). For many white people it certainly results in a self-sustaining pattern of shared beliefs which, from the evidence presented in this chapter, could be fairly described as racist. This, coupled with the wider evidence of racism in its cultural, institutional and structural forms presented in the previous chapter, means that in white areas there has been substantial educational work to be done.

Footnotes

1. I began to chart the pupils' attitudes more systematically, with writing tasks concealed within other tasks so that 'race' was not obvious as a focus of my interest. This strategy requires that pupils do some relatively sustained writing about each of the topics, since, as I say later, there seemed to be a tendency for them to begin with acceptable platitudes.

2. This data was gathered from five consecutive cohorts (390 students in all) of first year BEd students, each cohort working in groups of 17 or 18. As part of a teaching strategy they were asked to write on a card (anonymously) 'What have you heard about black and Asian people, what do people say about them?' In writing their responses they knew that the cards were going to be shuffled and read out by someone else in the group, so to that extent they would be public, though not 'owned' by the writers. The point was stressed that they should write what they have *heard*, not necessarily what they believed.

One clear source of bias in this data is that the context (an introductory teaching session about racism) might 'cue' the students to write something negative. This issue was raised in discussion on each occasion, when if anything, the opposite tendency was revealed: many students claimed that they tried to write something positive. They acknowledged four motivations for this:

a) a tendency to want to minimise the seriousness of racism;
b) embarrassment at what came to mind;
c) anxiety lest what they wrote was seen as their own beliefs.
d) a wish to avoid offending the black/Asian trainer who was usually present.

3. In my own college, as explained in chapters 9 and 10, anti-racism had a high profile, of which I was part. There was a degree of anxiety amongst some students lest they be 'convicted' of being racists by staff like myself, though we had no such intentions. All the same, potentially there was a difficult ethical and pedagogical route to be steered, since if, through our teaching, we felt a student was explicitly racist *and unlikely to be changed by the course*, and if anti-racism meant anything, it ought at least to mean questioning whether s/he should qualify as a teacher.

4. The examples given here are from a class in a Cornish school, though the same exercise carried out in three schools in Hampshire and three in Sussex produced the same pattern of results. In each case some children (or another comparable class) were given 'taxi driver' in the opening of their stories as a control. In these stories there was almost none of the negativity displayed in the others. In my view, this exercise, conducted as a normal writing task, has the potential to catch racial attitiudes and assumptions 'unawares'.

5. It is almost impossible to discuss 'race' with this age group for more than a few minutes without some degree of guardedness emerging. Milner (1975; 1984) has demonstrated that even much younger children than these ten-year-olds are aware of the evaluations placed upon 'racial' differences, so my subjects here knew the topic was potentially sensitive and indeed showed a general awareness about racially insulting language. They quickly sensed my own position in the follow-up discussions: 'nasty names for black and brown people' gives it away. An alternative strategy would have been to have used such terms myself as if they were unproblematic, and to note the reactions, including challenges, if any. While this has the potential of revealing the strength of 'anti-racist' attitudes, the inherent risks of an authoritative adult apparently conferring legitimacy on racist terms of abuse makes it ethically dangerous.

6. These are admittedly anecdotal, brought to me by students either explicitly researching the issue or out of surprise. While schools must vary in this respect, we know little about the causes of the variation between, say, the ten-year-olds' sensitivity to racist language and these younger children's use of it.

PART THREE: THEORISING CHANGE

Chapter Four: Institutional Change

In this chapter I intend to analyse, firstly, what we mean by anti-racist change, especially in white areas, and secondly, the processes and factors which general research about change would suggest are important in understanding, analysing and encouraging change in schools and classrooms. After a brief consideration of the context, this is organised under a series of questions:

Changing what?
Why change?
Where and how is effective change made?
Who initiates and implements change?
Time to change?

The context of general change

It has become almost a cliche that education must change and that those working within it need to adjust to, even thrive upon, change. The topic is now a distinct theme in most works on managing education, a degree of attention largely due to the quickening pace of educational change in Britain (and elsewhere) over the past decade or more.

Before the 1980s the pace was certainly slower. The 1960s saw a shift towards less didactic methods in the primary sector, accelerated by the legitimation conferred by Plowden. By the mid-1970s most secondary schools had been through comprehensive reorganisation, concurrently for some with the raising of the school leaving age in 1972. All three of these general changes entailed great upheavals in their working patterns for some teachers, as well as alterations in curriculum content. Though their impact was patchy and in some cases superficial, further curriculum change was promoted by large scale projects sponsored

by the Schools Council (Stenhouse, 1975) and by Nuffield. While these were major changes, they stand out in an otherwise relatively featureless landscape. For some schools and teachers within them they were the only changes on such a scale in two, or even three decades. Others may have minimised or sidestepped their effects: Bassey (1978) argues that the effect of Plowden was dramatically less than its demonisers on the Right suggest; Ford (1969), Benn & Simon (1972) and Hargreaves (1982) argue that many 'reorganised' comprehensives continued in practice as grammars and secondary moderns under the same roof, leaving ROSLA to the former secondary modern teachers (though this is not to say that the personal effect of the non-change was not profound on some staff, Riseborough: 1981; Benyon: 1985).

From the early 1980s this slow and uneven pace became more of a headlong rush. Initially because of Britain's remarkably untechnological curriculum (compared with some European countries) the Thatcher government intervened in education via the Technical and Vocational Initiative (TVEI) and in a partially related development secondary 16+ exams were integrated. A further stir was given to this mixture by some of the effects of comprehensivisation and other changes, which were being sharply felt in urban classrooms. By the late 1980s education 'reform' was a central part of the Conservative project for Britain, and soon embraced the autonomy of schools and LEAs from central government, enormous discursive and material changes in the curriculum (for instance in assessment), the way schools must deal with parental 'choice' and the allied abolition or diminution of potential sources of informed alternatives or opposition to government plans (the ILEA, LEA advisors, HMI, teacher education).

In the midst of all this, most noisily in the early 1980s, came pressure from urban black and Asian communities and activists within education to change established practice with regard to 'race'. This became formally institutionalised at a national level after the Swann Report in 1985 (see chapters 7 and 9)

though an implicit recognition of a need for change can be found in the huge increases in Section 11 spending in the late 1970s (Troyna: 1982). The need to change practice was institutionalised at times by the local education state from 1983 onwards (Mullard, 1981; Troyna & Williams, 1986), and by many individual multiracial urban schools, though few 'white' ones. The late 1980s and 1990s saw change of a different kind in racial education, a reactive change that is not adequately described in the frequent conflating in the literature of 'change' and 'innovation'. Innovations there certainly were in the Tory programme, but with regard to 'race' and the curriculum their efforts were mainly directed at preventing or inhibiting innovation and 'restoring' allegedly former content and verities. Such anti-racist changes as there had been in the preceding few years were pilloried, undermined, and often stalled completely, the direction being reversed both discursively and by means of funding and legitimation. This is explored in chapter 7.

Changing What?

In considering the process of anti-racist change in white areas we have to define what kind of change we are discussing. To do so we need to refer to the situation for which change was sought, evidenced in chapters 3 and 4, namely one in which racist attitudes were pervasive throughout the country, backed by material practices where black and Asian people were present and discursive practices whether they were or not. Moreover, my argument is that since racism operates at the personal, cultural, institutional and structural levels, so anti-racist change must similarly address itself to these levels, at least where possible.

By definition structural racism operates on a national scale, though its manifestations will vary in multiracial and in all-white areas. The processes of curriculum formation and media representation effect everywhere; the economics and local politics of catchment areas and selection can be highly

significant in adjacent and peripheral areas; using schools to investigate immigration status can take place even in 'isolated' rural towns. Individual schools and indeed LEAs can do little about some structural processes, though there are choices in their degree of collusion with, for instance, racist selection processes (CRE: 1992d). Similarly, the structural provisions which created City Technology Colleges and Grant Maintained Schools also increased the power of such schools to choose their pupils rather than their allegedly opposite intention (Edwards et al, 1992) and whilst these studies focus on social class selection, more recent work by Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe (1994) suggests that whilst silenced and inexplicit this class selection is nevertheless highly racialised. For most of the country, however, I would argue that structural anti-racist change is fairly remote. All-white schools and LEAs are highly unlikely to be in the vanguard of anti-racism, so while we may find, in time, the effects of wider structural change there we are unlikely to discover its source.

Institutional practices - such as irrelevant (ie racist) selection and assessment criteria or a failure to provide for linguistic, religious or dietary needs - can also operate in white areas, excluding black and Asian pupils entirely from some schools or from parts of the curriculum and the resulting opportunities. Perhaps many of the decisions and processes involved in the maintenance of such practices are more the stuff of heads' and governors' deliberations than part of the daily lives of most teachers, even in schools in 'adjacent' areas. By definition, change here would involve, whatever else, at least alterations in routine practices and guidelines about procedures *at institutional level*, based upon principles designed to eliminate racism (CRE, 1990).

However, in most of the examples above there are actual, if sometimes unintended, victims, though they do not always get inside the school or college gates. Racism is defined, in effect, by reference to those who suffer from it. Yet the

demography of Britain is such that most schools, colleges and education authorities are largely white and would still be so even if the above institutional and structural factors were removed. The evidence in chapter 4 argues that racism also needs to be defined and recognised where there are no immediate, first-hand victims, in other words at the personal and cultural level. So while in principle for anti-racist change to come about it would have to do so at all four levels, I suggest that in practice the key anti-racist changes in white areas need to be personal and cultural. By the same token they would need to take place at school or college level: if personal and cultural change is not discernible there then it has not taken place anywhere.

A cultural change could be judged to have come about when learning materials, implicit curriculum assumptions and staff beliefs about the issue consistently problematise racism. This is the target, this is the kind of change anti-racists would need to make in largely white schools for it to count as any change at all. For this to come about, it follows that personal change for teachers is crucial. I have very limited direct or systematic evidence of teacher attitudes in largely white areas at the beginning of the 1980s, but it would require an enormous leap of faith away from the evidence in chapters 3 and 4 to suggest that teachers were free of the hostility, misinformation or indifference evidenced by their friends, family and neighbours. Put plainly, teachers would have to examine their own attitudes before anti-racist change would be likely to take hold.

It also follows, however, that change at these two latter levels would be constantly under threat unless either they were matched and supported by institutional and structural change too, particularly structural change, or were able to promote it.

In the terms used by Cuban (1988) and Sarason (1990) anti-racist change would be 'second order'. They argue that most educational changes this century have been first order, improving the

efficiency and efficacy of what is currently done, but no more. Second order changes are more fundamental and rarely successful:

> Most reforms foundered on the rocks of flawed implementation. Many were diverted by the quiet but persistent resistance of teachers and administrators.... (Cuban, 1988b: p.343).

While this description of the kind of change which would really have any value and effect is drawn from an analysis of racism, that is, an analysis of the problem it is seeking to address, it matches all the more generalised accounts in the literature about change (eg Fullan, 1991). 'Ultimately the transformation of subjective realities is the essence of change' (p.36). In particular, Fullan argues that wherever in the system change is initiated it is insignificant in classrooms unless materials are revised, there are new teaching approaches, and there has been an alteration of beliefs ('pedagogical assumptions and theories underlying particular new policies or programmes' p.37).

Why change - or why not?

With 'race' as well as in other matters many of the post-war changes were not confined to Britain. In examining the sources of change Fullan (1991) summarising Levin (1976) suggests some which place the apparent particularities of post-war Britain into international trends and patterns. Two common pressures he identifies are:

> External forces such as improved technology and values, and immigration;
> Internal contradictions, such as when indigenous changes in technology lead to new social patterns and needs, or when one or more groups in society perceive a discrepancy between educational values and outcomes affecting themselves or others in whom they have an

interest (p.17).

By the late 1970s some of Britain's black population certainly 'perceived a discrepancy'. There was clear evidence of anger and alienation amongst young black and Asian people and if only for instrumental reasons central and local government had to be concerned about escalation. This pressure and concern led Shirley Williams to establish the Rampton Committee in 1979 with the brief of 'giving early and particular attention to the educational needs and attainments of pupils of West Indian origin' (DES, 1985: p.vii). No doubt the street disturbances of Brixton and St Paul's in the early 1980s strengthened the pressure for some kind of practical or symbolic response.

Yet by the time the report was published in 1985 the Committee had widened its brief considerably, the expansion captured clearly in its final title 'Education for All'. It was no longer just about black people but about everyone, and it argued for precisely the kind of change defined by Fullan:

> In many respects... we are not concerned... primarily with changing the content of the curriculum, but rather with bringing about a fundamental reorientation of the attitudes which condition the selection of curriculum materials and subject matter and which underlie the actual teaching and learning process and the practices and procedures which play such an important part in determining how the educational experience impinges on the lives of pupils (1985: p.324).

As a result, for a while after 1985 and for some innovative attempts at anti-racist work, there were incentives of funding, technical support and possible career advancement (all cited by Fullan as common 'opportunistic' catalysts) through special grants for in-service and newly created posts under the Education Support Grant scheme (see chapter 7). In pragmatic terms this

support provided motives for LEAs and some heads to consider and initiate change.

There is a deeper issue of the motive of those pressing for change, however: the pressure needs to be recognised as principled as well as pragmatic. In largely white areas it can scarcely be the pragmatism of avoiding unrest which stimulated innovation, nor is it convincing to explain what developments there were merely as the cynical pursuit of funds, irrespective of what they were for (after all, people still had to choose to go on courses, apply for the specialised posts, or seek to persuade colleagues). The motive could not be primarily material. It may be that at that particular phase in its post-colonial development Britain was beginning to come to terms with some features of its legacy. Lord Scarman, after the Brixton disorders, was prepared to make relatively strong judgemental statements about the pervasiveness of racism, as was Swann:

> We believe that a failure to broaden the perspectives presented to all pupils - particularly those from the ethnic majority community - through their education not only leaves them inadequately prepared for adult life *but also constitutes a fundamental miseducation*.... (p.319, italics added).

This is unambiguously a statement which appeals to educational values.

However, whatever the motivational bases, a change justified largely on principle or philosophy must be one of the hardest to make. In largely white institutions there are not visible beneficiaries of anti-racism, except in the nebulous sense expressed by Swann of one's pupils emerging as better educated people and citizens - a very long-term goal on which to expend resources and effort. There are unlikely to be realisable benefits in the shape of more efficient procedures, fewer conflicts with or between students, higher results, more

motivated students or better relationships with parents (indeed the latter may get worse, at least at first). In other words, the fewer the visible targets of a particular educational reform the more abstract it becomes. What is more, racial attitudes are known to be often deep-seated and rooted in early socialisation (Davey, 1983; Milner, 1983) as well as later immersion in a racist culture. As such they are unlikely to be examined without some discomfort and invitations to do so are unlikely to be welcomed. With regard to anti-sexist work in schools, Ruddock suggests staff are unlikely to contemplate change 'without some sense of "hurting" because of the way things are' (1994: p.23). Even doing anti-sexist work in boys' schools, hard though it is (Reay, 1991) could be seen as having more tangible benefits for the pupils, if only because of the inevitable constant presence of females in their lives.

It is worth saying that pupils could, conceivably, exert pressure to change if they became sufficiently concerned about an issue. Given their majority in any school, when pupils press for change about energy use, paper recycling, litter, wet playtimes, or bullying they certainly elicit some response, and there is no reason why this should not be true of racism. However, I know of no formal account of pupil awareness and concern becoming a motive for anti-racist change, though I am aware of many anecdotal ones. In my own school in 1978, when the Anti-Nazi League's Rock Against Racism campaign engaged many sixth formers, they formally asked the school to prohibit National Front literature: whatever else it did, this raised the awareness and concern of some staff. On the other hand, given the argument in chapter 4, anti-racist pupils or students are unlikley to be other than a minority. A small number of the least powerful and inevitably temporary members of an institution are not in a strong position to press for change.

Finally in this section it needs to be said that both principled and pragmatic pressure also brought about the *reactive* change brought about later in the 1980s. The Right was motivated both

by 'a discrepancy between educational values and outcomes affecting themselves or others in whom they have an interest' and by the electoral appeal of presenting anti-racist work as such.

Where and how is effective change made?

If the preceding section identifies the kind of changes we must examine, we also need to consider the location and method of bringing them about. Anti-racist change, just like any other, can in principle be initiated and/or driven by the teacher, the school, the local authority, or central government, though since any effective change as I have defined it must be multi-dimensional and effect each of these locations, then each would have to interact and be responsive to the others.

Before about 1985 such anti-racist change as there was had been initiated at school level, indeed individual teacher level (see chapter 8), where we would expect it to meet formidable difficulties. Trying to initiate anti-racist change in this way was to work at a particularly difficult kind of innovation with none of the positive factors usually associated with success: there was no access to existing similar work; no advocacy, policy or funds from the authorities at any level; virtually no external change agents on whom to rely for help or support; and certainly no community pressure for change. We can reasonably speculate that many such initiatives before this period did not progress very far - certainly not as far as being written up.

When there was support from the local state it helped, since its advocacy could then be invoked for legitimacy as well as resourcing, financial, personal and 'expert' support. Logic suggests, however, that the level of LEA support in white areas was always inherently limited since there can scarcely have been electoral gains in the high profiling of anti-racist reforms. While Fullan says 'There are many reasons other than educational merit that influence decisions to change' (1991: p.28) we might

add 'or to change just a little', enough to pacify activists without exciting too much attention. The educational case may have been made, but not the electoral one.

Similarly, support from the centre cannot but be some help, for the reasons I listed as principled and pragmatic earlier. This is not to say that state-led initiatives are always better or to imply that somehow anti-racist change in white areas would have been more effective had it been centrally instigated and led. Clearly the central and local state can issue guidelines, policies, even directives, but as Fullan say: 'We have no reason whatsoever to imagine that these actions in their own right are related to implementation' (1991: p.79). Besides, such centrally-instigated reform is inevitably driven by a blend of different pressures and whilst it is usually

> ...accompanied by greater commitment of leaders, the power of new ideas, and additional resources....it also produces over-load, unrealistic time-lines, uncoordinated demands, simplistic solutions, misdirected efforts, inconsistencies and underestimation of what it takes to bring about reform (Fullan, 1991: p.27).

Researchers also seem to agree that large scale curriculum projects (like the Humanities Curriculum Project in the 1970s, discussed in chapter 7) are often unsuccessful. This is despite the resulting time, resources and legitimation, mainly because they tend to assume a common value system, only to treat teachers as technicians and passive recipients of programmes which they were not convinced they needed (Tomkins, 1986).

Following the arguments outlined above and the analysis offered in previous chapters, I would conclude: if adequate responsiveness between the different key actors and agencies in education is a necessary condition for change to come about, what constitutes a sufficient condition seems to be teacher support. If proposed changes are not meaningful to teachers they will

flounder, but making them meaningful is a task the difficulty of which almost always seems to be underestimated. Change cannot be assimilated unless its meaning is shared.

For teachers to begin to take them to heart changes need to be perceived as clearly offering some improvement to themselves and their students. This sounds like a matter of rational appraisal, but actually it is rooted in the fact that change is seldom emotionally easy and therefore need justifying. Marris (1975) puts it much more strongly than this, stressing that any significant change involves loss, anxiety and struggle and that would-be change agents need to recognise and understand this:

> When those who have the power to manipulate changes act as if they have only to explain, and when their explanations are not at once accepted, shrug off opposition as opposition or prejudice, they express a profound contempt for the meaning of lives other than their own. For the reformers have already assimilated these changes to their purposes, and worked out a reformulation which makes sense to them, perhaps through months or years of analysis and debate. If they deny others the chance to do the same, they treat them as puppets dangling by the threads of their own preconceptions (p.166).

This may seem like an apologia for relatively impervious racist attitudes and assumptions, but it makes the point that in some respects such attitudes are like any others: they make sense of the world for individuals, they interlock with, shore up and are in turn shored up by other constructs and meanings. They matter, and they do not respond well to attack. Looked at this way, simple human conservatism is necessarily tenacious and has to be regarded more respectfully than 'mere' stupidity or stubbornness. Fullan echoes Marris's point:

> ...changes in beliefs are even more difficult: they

> challenge the core values held by individuals regarding the purposes of education; moreover, beliefs are often not explicit, discussed or understood, but rather are buried at the level of unstated assumptions (1991: p.42).

Some examples of what can happen when unstated assumptions are challenged are given in Ruddock's study of gender policies in secondary schools (1994), and an Australian study of anti-sexist initiatives (Kenway, 1995). Ruddock's book contains some striking accounts of the resistance activists met, even to (apparently) minor changes and when the change-agent was in a relatively senior position (for instance the flat refusal of one man to comply with a direct instruction simply to write registers alphabetically). Kenway, too, had to confront trivialisation, unco-operativeness and antipathy from teachers who felt their masculinity to be 'under seige'. Deep changes call for corresponding changes in a teacher's occupational identity, which

> ...represents the accumulated wisdom of how to handle the job, derived from their own experience and the experience of all who have had the job before or share it with them. Change threatens to invalidate this experience.... (Marris, 1975: p.16).

In some occupations it may be possible to devise procedures which promote equal treatment, such as applying careful and explicit criteria for council housing allocations (Brown: 1984). With regard to racial attitudes Smith (1979) argues that in such circumstances a change in attitude can follow a change in behaviour, rather than the other way round, but in white schools the problem for the change agent is altogether more abstract, intangible and intractable than that. The content of lessons and implicit messages conveyed by teachers are profoundly personal. Racial attitudes in white schools are not even accessible through the register.

Huberman (1983) indicates another set of reasons why teachers find change difficult by summarising key demands in their daily lives:

> *Immediacy and concreteness*: Teachers engage in an estimated 200,000 interchanges a year, most of them spontaneous and requiring action.
> *Multidimensionality and simultaneity*: Teachers must carry on a range of operations simultaneously, providing materials, interacting with one pupil and monitoring the others, assessing progress, attending to needs and behaviour.
> *Unpredictability*: Anything can happen. Schools are reactive partly because they must deal with unstable input - classes have different 'personalities' from year to year; a well-planned lesson may fall flat; what works with one child is ineffective for another; what works one day may not work the next.
> *Personal involvement with students*: Teachers discover that they need to develop and maintain personal relationships and that for most students meaningful interaction is a precursor to academic learning (pp.482-3).

Thus 'the rational assumptions, abstraction and descriptions of a proposed new curriculum do not make sense in the capricious world of the teacher....' (Fullan, 1991: p.34) and the potential costs of change for teachers in terms of time and emotional investment are likely to be high. This results in one of the many unproductive states into which Fullan suggests teachers can be pushed: 'painful unclarity - when unclear innovations are attempted under conditions that do not support development of the subjective meaning of change' (p.35). Gross et al (1971) illustrate this in their account of unrealised change in a school where, on the face of it, the climate was supportive but where the real fundamentals of what was required of them was simply unclear to teachers.

The familiar way of avoiding this, and other states such as false clarity (where people think they have changed but in fact have only assimilated superficialities) is by some process of in-service training, about which Fullan provides a pessimistic summary.

> Pre-implementation training in which even intensive sessions are used ....does not work.... One-shot workshops prior to and even during implementation are not very helpful. Workshop trainers ....are frequently ineffective. Consultants inside the district are often unclear about their roles. Teachers say they learn best from other teachers but research shows that they interact with each other infrequently.... concrete and skill-specific training is effective, but only for the short run (p.85).

On the other hand, combining pre-implementation training with assistance during implementation can be effective, as can teachers trained as staff developers and the provision of direct, practical, concrete outside help. Fullan argues

> ...it is what people develop in their minds and actions that counts. People do not learn or accomplish complex changes by being told or shown what to do (p.73).

and concludes:

> most forms of in-service training are not designed to provide the ongoing, interactive, cumulative learning necessary to develop new conceptions, skills and behaviour (p.85).

It was exactly this kind of ongoing and interactive development which was missing in the study by Gross et al (1971), leading to teachers applying minimal effort towards change because they felt

they did not have the necessary skills and knowledge. The more complex the change, the more interaction is required during implementation, and anti-racism is complex.

Similar challenges present themselves when we look at the features of change or non-change at school level. Fullan suggests three R's: relevance, readiness and resources. Changes are perceived to be relevant when they clearly have something to offer teachers and students (and to do so they have to be meaningful subjectively, as I have discussed). Readiness is the school's capacity to 'use' reform. For individuals this means the proposed change must meet a perceived need and use their knowledge and skills; for schools it means there must be an appropriate cultural climate, available time and attention free from other concerns, and hence the third R, available resources. Schools vary in their promotion and support of a climate of change. The quality of interaction and the exchange of ideas, support and positive feelings about their work (not surprisingly) have an effect on teachers' morale and resulting orientation towards change (Mortimore et al: 1988; Rosenholtz: 1989). Analysis of recurring themes in the improvement of urban high schools suggest six elements: vision building, initiative-taking and empowerment, staff development/resources assistance, restructuring, monitoring/problem-coping, and the presence of evolutionary planning (Louis & Miles, 1990). When the balance is right then the school and the teachers can deal with the inevitable but nonetheless uncomfortable 'internal turbulence' (Huberman: 1992).

> Many research studies have found that, without a period of destabilisation, successful, long lasting change is unlikely to occur. Yet it is at this point that most change fails to progress beyond early implementation. In these cases, when the change hits the wall of individual learning or institutional resistance, internal turbulence begins to occur and developmental work begins to impact on all

> staff....this, we find, is the predictable pathology of educational change (Ainscow & Hopkins, 1994:p.170).

While one might predict that attempting to promote anti-racist change would promote conflict, it should be remembered that conflict almost certainly exists in any case. Education is by definition a field of value divergence and dispute, not least about what it means to be educated. In recent years there has been a borrowing from industrial and commercial management theory of the idea of 'vision' and of schools having (or a good leader creating) a sense of mission and common purpose. While this may be possible and seems to be particularly attractive to the school effectiveness and school improvement movements, it can run the risk of ignoring the inherent conflicts in schools. Fullan points out that change makers are often hyper-rational whereas school systems are not, being guided by multiple and sometimes competing goals, with power located at various points in the system making decisions which can amount to bargains with several (sometimes unpredictable) constituencies.

Ball (1987) develops this theme much more, conceptualising schools not as organisations with coherent missions but through notions of power, goal diversity, ideological disputation, conflict, political activity and control (p.8). Different groups of pupils receive differing priorities within and between schools, differing philosophies are never far away. There is no understanding of schools, he suggests, without a recognition that schools are arenas of struggle and hence no understanding of change in schools without a recognition of the role of power and control, ideologies, differing goals - and micropolitics. In secondary schools (Ball's main focus) despite my earlier comments about the small number of changes in the past, many were still riven with the resulting internal factions well into the 1980s, with divides between the former grammar and secondary modern camps, between subject departments and between changing subject missions within them and between pastoral and academic structures. This must have militated against a shared

perspective on 'race' or anything else. Thus anti-racism has to be seen in the context of a school's existing micropolitical arena, to which it may represent a potential challenge, for instance to the autonomy of subject or pastoral groupings and their associated hierarchies, career paths, and control of resources in the shape of money, staffing, time and territory.

While Ball refers mainly to secondary schools, some work summarised by Southworth (1994) suggests that similar things could be said about primary schools. While he discusses very effective head teachers who had established pervasive cultures in their schools, he also indicates that it may take a head ten years of work, including a series of careful appointments, to bring the school to a common set of values (and even then they may be his/her values, rather than genuinely conceived by the staff). Cultures of collegiality, mutual support and continuous critical development clearly cannot be taken for granted, and changes sought for reasons rooted in educational philosophy may either become entangled in pre-existing conflicts or get nowhere at all if they do not match with the head's (or the dominant group's) vision.

In tactical terms, any change-agent would have to examine their own colleagues for the different kinds of teachers identified by Ball as *believers*, for whom ideologies are important, *non-believers* to whom they are largely irrelevant, and *cynics*, who ridicule, reject or manipulate (p.16). Baldridge (1971) suggests officials, activists, attentives and apathetics, while for particular initiatives Lyseight-Jones (1989) lists supporters, blockers, opinion leaders, don't knows, laggards and band-wagoners. As these labels indicate, in micropolitics influence is at least as useful a concept as power, and influence can be related to several features of an individual such as age or gender.

Who initiates and implements change?

Daniel Moynihan, commentator on the education of the black poor in the USA observed in 1978:

> The war on poverty was not declared at the behest of the poor; it was declared in their interest by persons confident of their own judgement in such matters (cited by Fullan, 1991: p.24).

This might serve as a warning to anti-racists in white areas, since by definition they are working on someone else's behalf. In multiracial areas key roles may be filled by black or Asian educationalists and pressure exerted by their communities, but this cannot be the case in the shires.

That proviso aside, and bearing in mind what has already been reviewed about the location of change, I want to look at the evidence for the effectiveness of different actors in the change process.

Change can be promoted by the 'centre', which I will take here to include LEAs. However, discussing the DES or LEAs as entities obscures the fact that in practice it usually falls to specific officials or teams to promote country- or district-wide change. These could be involved in 'the professionalisation of reform' (Fullan, 1991: p.24), trade-offs and bargains within the national or local state agency (which have their own micropolitics), the boosting of their own careers, or, of course, sincere and principled attempts to change things for the better. How much effect can they have?

Though it is difficult to quantify the effect, policy statements and guidelines can confer legitimacy on initiatives taken at teacher or school level. To an extent, resources can be directed towards existing or prioritised initiatives. The curriculum (in its widest sense) could be changed on paper by LEAs for much of

the 1980s and by the government since 1988, but any such change still had to deal with teacher implementation. Evidence already cited suggests that facilitating (in a variety of ways) well designed inset which supports the process of implementation is more effective than almost anything else the centre can do. On the other hand we know that centrally initiated changes have a poor record of success, especially when the centre wants to address a need which is not recognised at school level in accordance with agendas of its own. Two different worlds are interacting. 'To the extent that each side is ignorant of the *subjective* world of the other, reform will fail....' (Fullan, 1991: p.79, original emphasis).

At the school level, research from a variety of perspectives suggests that the role of the head is crucial, their active support being one of the single most important factors in successful change (Berman and McLaughlin: 1977). They have a role in creating the climate or 'readiness' for innovation, but seldom lead it. This is partly because a key part of their role is also to maintain stability - 'no news is good news, as long as everything is relatively quiet' and partly because they are often (albeit against their better judgement) engaged in troubleshooting, crisis and containment. As House and Lapan (1978) say 'The Principal cannot be a change agent or leader under these conditions' (p.145). For the same reasons the head can be the most effective 'blocker', even unintentionally: having initiated or supported change, heads have to back it in ways that teachers need. Failing to realise a need for new materials, skills development, ongoing evaluation, or revised organisational arrangements can turn initially positive teachers into resistant cynics or non-believers (Gross et al, 1971).

As for individual teachers, I have already noted both that a degree of unrecorded change must have been attempted by individual teachers in the past and that it stood little chance of success. There must be many unmarked graves of attempts to do anti-racist work in white schools in the 1970s, and perhaps

earlier. Quite apart from the difficulties of the change we are examining, the conditions of teachers' work do not always allow them to be effective change agents (see Huberman, 1992, above) unless they are in schools where their energies and aims are supported, rewarded and revitalised. All commentators seem to agree that, whatever the change, enormous and unusual personal commitment and energy are necessary on the part of the committed teacher if they are to be successful. Dadds (1994) describes 'Carol', the initiator in her account of a school innovation, as the 'heroine' of the story, and she means it. Suffice it to say that from the wealth of evidence about change, while teachers can be effective at changing what they do in their own classrooms, they will only be effective in bringing about wider change under certain conditions.

The first of these almost amounts to a precondition set by the school: opportunities need to exist for frequent interaction with others, especially if this involves engaging in shared reflection upon the higher-order skills in their work. In a very large study of teachers' work in the USA Goodlad concluded 'Their autonomy seemed to be exercised in a context more of isolation than of rich professional dialogue' (1984: p.186). This theme of isolation is echoed by others (eg Rosenholtz, 1989) and its opposite, meaningful collaboration, is more often noted in effective schools (Mortimore et al, 1988). Thus teachers can effect change upon other teachers if the school climate already facilitates dialogue or if the change process promotes it.

> [Teachers]... need to have one-to-one and group opportunities to receive and give help and more simply to *converse* about the meaning of change (Fullan, 1991: p.132, original emphasis).

A related aspect of change which teacher innovators must model is being a reflective practitioner (this notion is explored more fully in chapter 10). We have already seen that no real change happens unless it is internalised at a deep level, so teachers

need to be able constantly to reflect upon and make links between apparently mundane classroom events and their meanings in relation to broader concerns. Bussis et al (1976) illustrate this with the introduction of 'progressive' primary practice and Sarason (1982) with the mainstreaming of special needs. A teacher who emphasises either technique or ideals at the expense of the other is unlikely to carry colleagues with them.

A third feature related to teacher innovation is teachers' own career cycle. In a Swiss study Huberman (1978, cited by Fullan, 1991) found the period for experimentation and diversifying tended to be between teachers' seventh and eighteenth years in the job, though this could be considerably shorter. Other phases (survival, stabilisation and finally, focusing down) are self-evidently not conducive to making changes. On the other hand, since careers are made or enhanced by being noted as an innovator, there is a strong risk that unless change is consolidated by becoming fundamentally owned by colleagues, it will join the 'many fledgling changes [which] flounder once their parent has left' (Fullan, 1991: p20).

Finally, innovating teachers need to beware of the commonest trap fallen into by outsiders, ignoring the daily world of their colleagues. They need to be highly skilled interpersonally and tactically:

> If the teacher as advocate can become skilled at integrating the change and the change process, he or she can become one of the most powerful forces of change.... It will require confronting norms of isolation ... avoiding the imposition of solutions, premature forging of consensus, and failure to take into account the personal situations of those with whom the teacher-leaders wish to work (Fullan, 1991: p.139).

Advocates not skilled in this way risk what might be called the

change-agent's paradox, the more committed they are the *less* likely they may be to accomplish the desired change.

Under the heading of 'why change?' I considered the potential pressure which could be applied by pupils. They could in principle also have a role in initiating and implementing change: after all, whatever the power of the staff, norms and values amongst pupils are both pervasive and can be fairly autonomous. Though individuals' or particular cohorts' roles are inevitably limited by the short time they have to become influential before they leave, any intended change involving, say, racist language, which did not actively involve pupils in implementation would be seriously flawed, to say the least. If change is a process in which teachers' understandings have to be engaged, then the same has to be true of their pupils. Fullan sums this up well:

> Effective educational change and effective education overlap in significant ways (1991: p.190).

Lastly, it is worth considering briefly the role of teacher unions in innovation. In *No Problem Here* I suggested to teachers:

> Where there is an active union branch in a school they are clearly a group to work with. As the unions are sometimes the only cross-curricular groups who are allowed to meet without the hierarchy setting the agenda, and often have clear national guidelines to back them up, union members are a potential force for change. (1987: p.138).

There is little general research on the efficacy of union sponsored change, (though McDonnell and Pascal, 1988, dispute the common charge that unions function as obstacles to reform) but it is worth noting that the main three UK teacher unions all produced guidance documents about 'race' during the 1980s and the NUT continues to do so (AMMA, 1986; NAS/UWT, 1986 ; NUT, 1978;

1983; 1984a; 1986; 1989; 1992). The NUT also ran a series of racism awareness training workshops for teachers from 1984 to 1986, with the explicit aim of promoting innovation (NUT, 1984b).

My argument in this section has been that the issue of who leads or initiates change makes a great difference to its effectiveness. *Government induced change*, even if well funded and legitimated, does not necessarily produce anything which lasts. The same can apply to local *district initiated change*. *School climate* and the *role of the head* can be crucial, and *teachers' working conditions* make it very difficult for them to initiate anything radical and sustained. In addition, as I argued earlier, without effective, responsive *interaction between these different spheres* of influence and power within education, effective change will not take place.

Time to Change

Given the complexity and multi-layered nature of true change, it is clear that it will never happen quickly. Three (not necessarily linear) phases are generally identified:

initiation/mobilisation/adoption;
implementation/initial use; and
continuation/routinisation/institutionalisation.

There are no studies giving accounts of effective changes in education which have come about quickly. Despite the (theoretical) speed of communication and the massive funding and effort expended, according to Rogers and Shoemaker 'the average American school lags 25 years behind the best practice' (1971, p.59). What is worse (from the point of view of the innovator) is that there is often what Fullan calls an 'implementation dip': things get worse before they get better (and clearer). Southworth probably sums things up best:

> Change needs to be understood not as a Damascus road but as an endurance race (1994; p.22).

Conclusions

I have touched upon criteria for change already and will do so in more specific terms in chapters 7-12, but I want briefly to summarise what I consider to be the key consideration when evaluating 'anti-racist' change:

a) In white areas change is likely to be at school/college and teacher level, and hence predominantly personal and cultural;
b) Change initiated by the government or the LEA may have lasting effects in terms of (a) and in continuing to confer legitimacy on anti-racist work;
c) In classroom terms, significant change will not have been achieved unless materials have been revised, there are new teaching approaches, and there has been an alteration in teachers' beliefs;
d) Merely technical or documentary changes are likely to be ineffective;
e) Outcomes for pupils/students are unlikely to be discernible in terms of assessments or easily quantifiable measures.

But how do we get there? It has become very clear that change of any significance and duration is stubbornly difficult to bring about. We have Fullan's descriptions of many kinds of non-change: technical modifications without any corresponding change in beliefs; 'false clarity', when people think they have changed but have only adopted trappings; 'painful unclarity' when people are confused and resentful; changes which quickly die with the ending of funding, the loss of the head's support, or the departure of a key figure.

Fullan (1991) states that his overview of work in the field lead

him to four main insights about educational change: it involves active initiation and participation, pressure and support, changes in behaviour and beliefs, and it has the overriding problem of ownership. Combining this with his earlier conclusions (1985) and the analysis in this chapter I would advance seven propositions. Anti-racist school change:

- takes time (usually years);
- needs pressure, ideally at several levels at once;
- involves risks and so creates anxiety, uncertainty and the need for support;
- requires deep and shared understanding of the change on the part of teachers involving a spiral of reflective learning;
- is helped or hindered by the climate and micropolitical features of the school;
- almost always needs the clear support of the head;
- can be nurtured and legitimated, or undermined, by key players outside the school.

Chapter Five

Changing People

'Orientation'...[in anti-racist education]... does not mean, some psychological re-examination of self, a re-vamped gestalt or encounter group type racism awareness course, [but] this kind of reorientation will be as disorientating as it will be painful....
...the changing and repositioning of existing self within and against the context of an informative and interpretive history of past self....[...]... looking at all situations, relations, processes, structures, people, groups, curricula, agencies, textbooks, associations, school materials, traditions, customs, governing bodies, policies, practices, special events, and all else that goes on overtly or covertly in education. It is a kind of sensitive and sensitised looking through eyes trained in the detection of injustice, inequality, and all the large and small oppressions, discriminations and exploitations which are part of normal daily life in a racist institution and/or society. It is the looking at the common place, the normally unnoticed or taken for granted; all those things which go to make up the texture as well as the substance of schooling, pedagogy, and education.... To achieve this kind of sensitive and sensitised looking it is necessary to look with the ears as well as the eyes. The listening to all educational talk...(and) more important than verbal talk is all that goes on and which is often described as non-verbal talk. From sneers to gestures, dress to haircut, shoving in the dinner queue to bullying in the playground, distancing to closeness, staff silence

> to staff rowdiness, and the ordering of library materials to the selection of the football, rugby, cricket, netball, lacrosse and croquet teams all non-verbal talk, once identified, is in fact extremely noisy.... The listening to this sort of talk together with that commonly recognised as talk calls for the development of a special skill; one which permits the ears to come together with the eyes in order to listen to the driving hail and deceptive snowflakes of racism as they form in the sky before they fall to cover the ground completely white.... (Mullard, 1985, *The Three O's of Anti-racist Education*: p.44).

To change a situation where racism prevails it is axiomatic that both institutions and individuals have to change. I have suggested in the previous chapter that individuals - change-agents or the teachers whose practice they seek to change - are crucial to anti-racist change, yet in later chapters, (7, 9 and 10 in particular) we will repeatedly encounter the real difficulties that anti-racist change poses for the individuals concerned. It is threatening, challenging and in most cases seems to need a considerable amount of time. This chapter will examine one group of approaches developed to bring about such changes and, *inter alia,* consider three different conceptualisations of the 'individual', through which we might understand more clearly 'what' it is that might change.

Changing attitudes?

I would like first, however, to dispense with one kind of understanding of the notion of an 'individual': an atomised, abstracted, psychological one. According to this notion, the change with regard to 'race' is conceived as 'attitude' change, resting upon definitions of the term 'attitude' which reflect the concern of psychologists to identify theoretically isolatable aspects of cognition and behaviour, partly for analytical clarity but also for experimental purposes.

For example, Lloyd et al. (1984: p.602) suggest 'an individual's relatively enduring positive or negative feelings about someone or something'. Fishbein & Ajzen (1975: p.6) define it as 'a learned disposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object', and Rokeach (1968) calls it 'a learned orientation, or disposition, toward an object or situation which provides a tendency to respond favourably or unfavourably to the object or situation'. The logic of these definitions leads to a concept of 'prejudice' as a series of negative attitudes or attributions and hence potentially to an understanding of the issue as the reduction of such prejudice towards particular individuals and groups.

Classic studies of attitude change or the reduction of prejudice towards out-groups generally fall into four kinds. One looks entirely at the effects on separate groups of co-operative work in the pursuit of common goals (e.g. Sherif, 1967; Aronsen, 1978; Brown, 1986). A second, though producing some contradictory results (e.g. Jahoda, 1961; Hewstone & Brown, 1986) suggests that equal status contact may have a positive role to play. A third approach involves engaging in counter-attitudinal behaviour (sometimes called forced compliance) for which the underpinning theory is that of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). This argues that inconsistencies between attitudes and behaviours are a source of tension (at least for most people) and hence they will seek to eliminate them. If they have come to act (or been made to act) in a particular way then their attitudes (and beliefs and values, perhaps) will shift to reduce any dissonance. 'Surprise, uncertainty and inconsistency related to knowledge seem to stimulate an urge to reorder the problematic material so that it makes sense to the knower' (Lloyd, 1984: p.424).

The fourth approach is more familiar to anti-racist educators and teachers generally: persuasive communication, the study of which Laswell (1948) summed up as 'who says what to whom and with what effect'. There is an inexplicit or glossed-over overlap in much of this work of the distinction between beliefs, values and

attitudes (taken up below), coupled with findings which though consistent, are hardly startling.

As regards the ***who***, there is some evidence that if the message is perceived as contrary to the source's self interest, then it can be more effective (a man with an anti-sexist message, a white with an anti-racist message), but that in any case the source effect is not very important over time. As for ***what***, most psychological research dwells on fear-inducing messages (e.g. about road safety or the effects of smoking) so has little to teach us here, except that the content of the message is often in the eye or ear of the beholder (the ***whom***), so its significance or salience to them is crucial. Salience can be related to the function particular attitudes may have for the subjects, for instance Gross (1992) suggests there is some evidence that women with low self-esteem may actually experience an attitude shift away from any persuasive message as part of an ego-defensive function, and any source effect almost vanishes if ego involvement is high. In addition, and not surprisingly, subjects resist if they know someone is trying to change their minds (Walster & Festinger, 1962) so any warning of an intention to change attitudes can be fatal to the attempt (and this tendency increases the more important or salient the attitude is to the subject's self-concept (Reich & Adcock, 1976)). Chaiken (1987) suggests that unless an issue is perceived as personally involving then careful, cognitive analysis of a message is unlikely to occur, (instead, heuristics or rules of thumb are likely to be used, with very unpredictable results influenced by the perceived status or attractiveness of the source, 'what others think' and so on).

A key difficulty of these theoretical and laboratory-based accounts is their implicit or explicit reference to individuals, to *actual people* against whom 'prejudice' might be directed or negative 'attitudes' felt. The logic of this argument would almost have it that white British racism is merely the disposition to feel or act negatively towards a black or Asian

person *if encountered*, and that therefore it is no more than a possibility, a potential, in white areas. Clearly, racism is more than that.

Thus although I began this section by considering abstracted psychological entities (attitudes), the focus has already shifted to something wider, in short the relationship between attitudes and wider aspects of a person's self. In this connection, Katz (1960) suggests four functions of attitudes:

> *knowledge function:* attitudes help in our search for predictability and stability, they give meaning to experience, an interpretive framework;
> *socially adjustive function:* display of the 'right' attitudes in a particular context wins interpersonal rewards from others, such as approval and acceptance. It may follow that such expressions need not be strongly believed;
> *value expressive function:* as a means of self-expression through cherished values attitudes may be important for our sense of personal integrity;
> *ego-defensive function:* some attitudes can prevent the admission of personal deficiencies, for instance by maintaining a sense of superiority over others.

This enables us to go beyond a concept of 'attitude' as a simple disposition and towards a consideration of its function in identity and social relationships, and a hence consideration of the interaction between three factors I have already referred to: attitudes, beliefs and values. Beliefs, strictly defined, are about attributes, causes and consequences; values are about desirable ends in themselves; attitudes are about feelings. When engaged in an anti-racist change an individual may be involved in changing beliefs (Islam will not fatally undermine Christianity in Britain; black people are not inherently less intelligent; Asians experience consistent discrimination and harassment) or values (silent or collusive racism is easy but

morally wrong; it is educationally desirable to challenge racist ideas in our pupils) as well as attitudes (I am fearful/ suspicious/patronising towards black people; I am hostile towards anti-racist education; I resent discussions about white racism). Thus any focus upon changing individuals has to address beliefs and values about 'race' as well as the associated attitudes.

Changing social constructions?

In their turn, such beliefs, values and attitudes cannot be adequately understood as atomised features of an individual, they are part of a broader constellation of constructs which might be better described as an orientation towards 'race' and racism or Figueroa's 'racist frame of reference' (1974; 1984; 1991). This is an essentially social conception of the individual in the symbolic interactionist tradition, the 'social' being understood as:

> ...the dynamic interacting of intentional, meaning-'giving' 'individuals', mutually defining, sustaining and taking account of each other [and] being, inseparably, the patterns and regularities, the reciprocal positioning, the structures, that may be thought of as informing that interacting. These patterns, these structures are intrinsic to the interacting, and also both result from and constrain it (Figueroa, 1991: p.27).

Hence the individual is inherently social, acting in and through shared 'conceptual constructs, symbolic beliefs, values and behavioural patterns which provide a frame of reference' (p.28) (like 'childhood' or 'race') providing 'a basic "backdrop" to perception, knowledge, judgement and action' (p.30). These involve '[shared] tacit, implied beliefs, attitudes and orientations... [which] can be so deeply embedded that the interacting members are .... only peripherally aware of them even though they act in accordance with them (1974: p.34). Frames of

reference are indeed 'like a language'... produced in and through interaction, yet are always given, being learned through a process of reproduction, so they are actively taken up and modified in practice' providing 'the inherent and basically *inexplicit* "interpretive process"' (1991: p.35).

It is this constellation of constructs and perceptual filters, embedded in and constantly remaking personal, cultural, institutional and structural racism, which needs to be affected for anti-racist change to take place. In practical terms this may mean looking at change in the context in which it has to happen, and looking at the contextual catalysts and inhibitors not as separate from the person and his/her 'attitudes' but as part of the person, part of the defining and - to an extent - constraining social 'frame' in which they live and work.[1]

A 'technology' of change

Since there is such a self-evident reliance upon individuals changing their orientation and practice if anti-racist educational change is to come about, it is not surprising that very focused attempts have been made to devise an efficient 'technology' to do this. Beginning in about 1980 (and stimulated by the Scarman Report, suggests Gurnah, 1984)) there was a brief flowering of an approach to anti-racism which rapidly became controversial (though for a variety of reasons): racism awareness training (RAT). I would like to consider this 'technology' in the light of the two discussions above.

Elsewhere I have defined RAT as follows:

> ...it aims to produce an active awareness of racism in its personal and institutional forms. With varying emphases, RAT focuses on how a whole battery of white assumptions and practices when combined with numerical and economic power produce racism, on the structure of white attitudes, sometimes the internal harm done, the

> distortion produced by racism, ways of unlocking particular thought patterns, getting the person to listen and recognise his/her defensiveness about racism, and to plan some action (personal or institutional) towards change (1987: p.102).

In effect, RAT was no more than a particular form of in-service, theoretically grounded partly in basic psychological findings like those above (detailed in Shaw, 1981) and partly in work on group dynamics (especially Carl Rogers, eg 1968) and counselling (though its initial practical development was in the US army in the late 1960s).[2] It was also necessarily grounded in theories (or simply descriptions) of Britain as exemplifying pervasive and persistent racism, and was thus a clear step away from 'multi-cultural' awareness-raising about diet and customs. Many practitioners based their work on that of Katz (1978) which was both a rationale and a training manual for trainers, based on extensive work in the USA. She worked to a model which held that to varying extents racism structures thought and is hence unsettling or threatening to give up, while being simultaneously 'painful' because of its contradictions, and her evident encounter group/T group training also led her to give particular attention to how groups should be set up and 'facilitated'.

There was a recognition that simple information-giving was unlikely to change deep seated assumptions and ideas, and that change or learning is not brought about when people feel harangued, attacked, defensive, hostile, angry or guilty. There was also a belief that the pressing concerns of everyday life, varying attendance, and the deep-seatedness of racism made relatively brief 'twilight' sessions inappropriate for doing challenging work, so it aimed at compressing one of the highly significant variables discussed in chapter 4 and later chapters: time. In these chapters it emerges that it took many staff and students a long time (years) to move towards an anti-racist position; RAT hoped to accelerate this. Hence Katz (and others, eg RAPU (1985) and Twitchin (1985)) recommend three days as the

minimum for an 'effective' course, usually stipulating a follow-up some time later to evaluate and consolidate.

Though different practitioners took different emphases, this general description would hold for most of them:

> RAT tends to take the form of structured sessions, usually experientially based (role play, simulation, audio-visual of an arresting or emotionally engaging kind, analytic group work, self-reflexive group work, brainstorming, etc.) with the aim of providing insight into personal and institutional racism. Most techniques are for small groups; though some simulations can work with thirty or forty.... Some techniques throw unconscious white attitudes into sharp relief, others enable whites to empathise effectively with black people, others use these to highlight racism in society. There is always a facilitator or trainer, sometimes two, and these might be black or white (Gaine, 1987: p.102).

Katz recommended a sequential hierarchy of approaches, graded steps or stages in the of development of anti-racist consciousness:

1) Naming and defining key concepts;
2) Describing and examining racism in institutional and individual forms.
3) Identifying and articulating personal feelings and fears on racism, taking up the feelings and fears brought to the surface by stages 1 and 2.
4) Exploring cultural racism.
5) Exploring whiteness, how people's own attitudes and behaviours are representative of racism.
6) Developing and acting upon specific strategies against racism.

Parts of this hierarchy refer to attitudes (feelings), parts are about information, and parts are about examining beliefs and values.

Variants of the RAT approach were widely used between about 1980 and 1986, by which time they were being subjected to attacks which I shall explore below. They were recommended to the Home Office in 1980 for police training (Peppard, 1980). Twitchin publicised them both through his book and through the BBC series *Multicultural Education* (he was the producer); the NUT ran a series of RAT courses from which they then disseminated information and set up a network (NUT, 1984); various private consultancy firms were established (eg RAPU, the Racism Awareness Programme Unit, numbering Haringey councillor 'Bernard Grant' among its seven members) and many public sector employers established either a staffed unit to do such training (like Bradford and Lewisham) or a compulsory programme of courses for staff. The Industrial Language Training Service (ILTS) was heavily involved with such training. Birmingham LEA funded and developed a teaching pack in 1982, clearly influenced by Katz, and widely used in many other LEAs. Other 'packs' or training programmes were produced by the Methodist church, the Centre for Staff Development in Higher Education, the Open University, Lewisham Council and the British Council of Churches. By 1985 they were so established a feature of the educational scene that Swann cautiously suggested the DES should research their effectiveness (1985: p.588) and HMI held a conference about RAT in 1986 bringing together trainers and circulating lists of materials.

Changing through political action

The whole enterprise was heavily criticised by the left (broadly, black and radical white commentators) which saw RAT as too apolitical and psychologistic, or having too much in common with self-indulgent looking 'human growth' techniques:

> ...although RAT can act as a catharsis - for guilt-stricken whites - or as a catalyst, leading even to a change in their treatment of individual blacks, its pretensions to do more is at once a delusion of grandeur and a betrayal of political black struggle against racism and, therefore, the state (Sivanandan, 1985: p.28).

Katz sometimes presented an easy target for these criticisms of RAT's psychological 'style' and emphasis. For instance, in discussing her stages listed above, she writes:

> Stages 1 and 2 help raise participants' consciousness of what racism is and how it functions. Many people enter stage 3 sitting on host of feelings, overwhelmed with new data, confused about what is really the 'truth', and feeling helpless about what to do about it all. Other people may be feeling guilty about being a racist or about being white. Some may feel a responsibility for racism because they are white or angry about the way the system has treated third world people. In stage 2 many of these feelings must be brought out and dealt with; otherwise they will begin to immobilise the participants and stifle growth in any positive direction. The exercises in stage 3 help participants get in touch with their 'here and now' feelings, deal with them, and move into a process of change and growth (Katz, 1978: p.94).

Sivanandan denied any claim that RAT had an effect wider than ameliorating some individuals' response to individual black people and providing jobs for 'middle class ethnics' (ibid. p.22). He and Gurnah both argued that the mushrooming of RAT made no difference to the position of most Asian and black people in terms of employment, racial harassment, or the quality of housing, all of which deteriorated in the succeeding five years while whites in positions of power learned the right RAT

rhetoric. The nub of their argument is that all RAT, whatever its claims to look at political structures, was nevertheless a part of them. It was the wrong kind of action in the wrong place run by the wrong people. Like running courses to improve the human sensitivity of pre-revolutionary Russian aristocrats, such endeavours could be no more than pitiful attempts at the reform of something unreformable by people trying to have their moral cake and eat their material one. There is some correspondence here with the radical critiques of some 'racial equality' measures discussed in the next chapter, since in both these measures and RAT '...oppression is severed from exploitation, racism from class, and institutional racism from state racism' (Sivanandan, 1985: p.16).

To support his case Sivanandan draws on the most psychological passages in Katz, saying that she reduces the 'white problem' from one which actually inheres in the capitalist power structure to one which is purely personal, 'a problem of individuals'. It reduces 'social problems to individual solutions, passes off personal satisfaction for political liberation' (p.20). In contrast, he argues:

> The fight against racism is, therefore, a fight against the State which sanctions and authorises it - even if by default - in the institutions and structures of society and in the behaviour of it public officials. My business is not to train the police officer out of his 'racism', but to have him punished for it.... Nor does changing the attitude of an immigration officer stop him from carrying out virginity tests - but changing immigration law (or merely the instructions from the Home Office) would. Nor can (middle class) housing officers who have undergone RAT change housing conditions for the black working class, as long as the housing stock is limited. Nor, finally, does disabusing the minds of the editors and owners of the yellow press of their

> 'racism' prevent them from propagating their poisonous ideology of racism (when it sells papers); only a concerted continuing, public and political campaign can do that (Sivanandan, 1985: p.28).

I shall return below to the strategy and action which Sivanandan thereby recommends.

RAT poison

The left were not RAT's only critics. The right (especially in contexts where it was compulsory) saw RAT as redolent of thought police, authoritarian, and destructive of independent thought. The *Daily Mail* carried a series of 'exposes' of RAT in this vein between 1983 and 1986 (they became part of the concerted attacks on 'loony' councils described in the following chapter), and Jeffcoate's *Ethnic Minorities and Education* (1984), as well as arguing that racism may be less pervasive than many claim, contains a section called '*Anti-racism as illiberalism*'. In this he warns of the threat to the autonomy of teachers, the 'gross infringement of teachers' rights' involved in making RAT courses compulsory, and 'simple-minded' foregone conclusions like 'racism and racial inequality are endemic in Britain'. (Gurnah too calls RAT 'highly moralistic, what [it] lacks in content it makes up in highmindedness' (1984: p.14).) From reading the account in the BBC's *Multicultural Education* referred to earlier Jeffcoate concludes

> The participants appear to have been subjected to a brand of the Marxist version of racism... purveyed through the unlikely methodology of encounter group behaviourism (p.151).

Practice

In practice RAT appealed to many who found no strategy in studies of 'attitude' or 'prejudice' on the one hand or on the radical

call to arms on the other, including myself. Over a six year period I 'facilitated' a great deal of RAT, for teachers, lecturers, LEA officials, social workers, educational psychologists and (in time) hundreds of ITE students. I also attended many RAT courses to see other trainers at work and my experience of these courses and their documentation suggests that some accounts certainly misrepresented RAT, partly for rhetorical purposes but also inevitably, because of the great range of activities which took place under the name. As Alibhai puts it:

> ...the critics on the right and the left have been shooting at an animal that does not exist, wounding others in the process... several trainers and training organisations have evolved far superior training models. The new training courses are not based on spurious half-understood psychotherapy... (1988: p.18).

Different trainers emphasised different techniques, but while there probably was a rough divide between those who focused on personal racism and those who put greater emphasis on its institutional and political life, even this division between the political and the personal is partly one of misunderstanding: RAT could not help being 'psychologistic' in one sense because it consisted of structured activities in intensive small groups about something threatening and emotionally loaded. The *techniques* therefore were easily mistaken for the *analysis*, the form for the content. Alibhai's 'new courses' tended to call themselves anti-racist training (ART), but in reality there was no absolute distinction to be made between one type of course and another (see also Kelly & Chambers, 1987; Siraj-Blatchford, 1988; Luthra & Oakley, 1991).

Arguments and effects

It does not seem necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of RAT in terms of inadequately theorised notions of 'attitude' or

'prejudice' or atomised asocial conceptions of individual change.

As to right-wing critiques, insofar as part of them rest on the argument that the pervasiveness of racism is exaggerated, I have said enough in previous chapters not to argue the case further here. The other strand has more substance, namely a fear of the power of group dynamics and the partial origin of RAT in encounter groups, such that the power of the group may make it authoritarian, cause the suspension of judgement when participants are vulnerable, and impose new interpretations with no room for racism to be seen as a valid 'point of view'. Indeed, a well-known advocate of RAT and originator of the Birmingham LEA pack conceded:

> Racism awareness training, like all sensitivity training, is a psychological process that needs careful handling...(Ruddell, 1983: p.7).

One problem with this argument is that it actually follows from the first, in other words if the extent of racism is exaggerated then logically any attempt to make people 'aware' of it as pervasive must by definition be authoritarian. Another difficulty is producing evidence that RAT could possibly have such a 'brainwashing' effect. Ruddell was much more concerned about the opposite:

> Ill-considered strategies can result in botched opportunities; playing around with potentially traumatic experiences can have the opposite effect to that intended.... (ibid: p.7).

Criticism from the left was most often directed at RAT in state agencies which carried out racist measures and practices, such as the examples given in the extract from Sivanandan above. As far as education is concerned, however (especially in white areas) there is a pointed contrast which emerges from his comments that it is not his 'business' to train someone 'out of

their racism'. It may not be Sivanandan's, but to deny that it is anyone's - or suggest that 'punishment' is a more appropriate radical strategy, is mere rhetoric. He also includes the phrase 'albeit by default', indicating that at least some things happen because they are examined and unchallenged. As Kelly & Chambers (1987) argue

> ...[structures] are not self-perpetuating or self-regulating. People do occupy positions of power within these institutions and they are more often whites than blacks.... They are also in a position to change organisational structures and rules and policies.. (p.5)

He would doubtless reply that this is an argument about merely token gestures, that the only way 'individuals' really change is through (class) struggle, that action is the only effective transformative force and that only in facing the contradictions and crises of radical action can one's social constructions or frames of reference be altered. To agree to this proposition would be to deny any purpose in Sivanandan's writing itself.

The approach fell rapidly into disuse by about 1988 largely because of the criticisms outlined above. Those I have characterised as 'left' culminated in a conference in 1986 where the London Strategic Policy Unit dismissed RAT as 'irrelevant, unethical and even dangerous'. In practice, however, while remembering Hinrichs' warning that 'there is no such thing a complete, universally accepted, identifiable and verifiable psychology of training' (1976: p.831), there is little published work on RAT's effectiveness, especially its long term effectiveness, and what there is usually refers to mixed (ie black and white) situations. Nordlie (1981) claims long term positive changes *and* a white backlash resulted from the US military training programme begun in the early 1970s. Katz (1976) claimed persisting changes in attitudes and to a lesser

extent in behaviour, corroborated by significant others' diaries, after a double-weekend course. Collated evaluations from other trainers show consistent themes of 'having my eyes opened' and requests for follow-up sessions about strategy and action (Swindon TEG, 1986; Satow, 1982; NUT, 1983) but little evidence of such sessions coming about, though Kelly and Chambers (1987) are more positive about this with ART than RAT.

The most detailed published review of 'race relations training' was carried out by the Policy Studies Institute (Brown, 1991). This reviewed the literature and interviewed trainers, members of organisations where training had taken place, and large employers. It makes many recommendations about integrating training and expected outcomes with everyday working practice, but as with other studies examines work in mixed settings. Simply raising awareness was progressively recognised as an inadequate aim compared with changing people's work practices, but when work practices are solely about awareness then advice is less clear.

Conclusion

In terms of the discussion earlier I would like to suggest that although it did not use the term, in practice many forms of RAT were attempting to change people's 'racist frame of reference'. At first sight it focused upon attitudes, but it may be more accurately viewed as an attempt to transform the internally coherent frame into a different set of mutually supporting beliefs, values and attitudes, initiated by raising awareness of racism. Expressed in psychological terms, if part of the frame of reference became incompatible with the rest, the cognitive dissonance thereby produced between either professional or ethical values, was intended to produce motive for change.[3]

However, perhaps the real justice of the left's criticisms lies in RAT's failure to address more of the ways in which a racist frame of reference is constructed and maintained (and potentially

deconstructed and challenged) in people's professional lives and workplaces. This may take us full circle back to the previous chapter in which institutional change was examined. There it became clear that individuals did not change unless their work culture valued, stimulated and supported their own change. With specific reference to training, Alderfer (1976) makes claims very reminiscent of studies reported in chapter 4: in organisations which brought about complete transformations in their 'human relations attitudes and practices' four key principles are to be seen:

> - key senior staff are convinced from the beginning of the importance of the exercise;
> -trusted external change-agents are used;
> -training activities are directed both at individuals and at primary work groupings with corresponding changes in policies;
> - a sustained programme is needed, probably lasting years. (derived from Shaw, 1981).

And more specifically with a 'race' focus, Peppard argued:

> ... for maximum effect the training should be structured to make a clear link between attitudes and the functioning of institutional discrimination (1983:p.157).

Many trainers favoured working with a homogeneous group and tailoring the training and the action plans to fit the group at work. Some organisations (like the ILTS and local authority in-house units) tried to insist on spending time in the workplace with the group prior to the training to help them understand the relevant mechanisms and practices, though this inevitably increased the cost and was often not agreed. It may be that the extent to which training did not take adequate account of work and other meaningful interaction sites in people's lives is the extent to which it failed.

We are left, however, with the special circumstances of the largely white area. The vast majority of RAT courses were run in potential or actual mixed situations, where institutional changes were possible, at least in principle, as a result of raised awareness and new insights and (again in principle) an erosion of cultural racism would be possible as part of the engagement with racist frames of reference. Action, while not necessarily the radical action Sivanandan had in mind, had at least the chance of also affecting the web of social constructions around 'race'. Rules and procedures may be drawn up in such a way that discriminatory practices are exposed and reduced, monitoring of job applications and appointments (with supporting sanctions) can expose and prevent racism, a threat of non-validation for degree programmes can concentrate minds on curriculum reform.

But in white areas, especially if 'isolated', as we saw in the previous chapter, the frame of reference is harder to fracture. Given the autonomy and complexity of classroom life and the continuous choices and decision-making involved, deeply rooted as such choices and decisions are in cultural assumptions, it is hard to know what institutional measures or concrete 'frame-changing' action might mean for teachers (let alone ITE students). As I argued earlier, teachers in white areas (and ITE students even more so) do not have a 'practice' with regard to 'race' which is separable from 'awareness'.

For this reason, despite the clear difficulty of changing individuals' racist frames of reference, I continued to run one-day courses with students until 1991. It seemed too deterministic to concede that nothing could be done, that any kind of teaching or training was collusive with a racist social structure, and the only route to personal change was political action:

> ...RAT is a worthwhile strategy to try, in some places, alongside other steps. It can have a

> particular role to play in institutions not subject to democratic control, and many educational establishments are like this, especially schools. With a head unwilling or unable to implement certain changes from above, the only way to move may be to try to change some people's minds. It does not rule out democratic pressure group action, it may initiate it. In my limited experience, in so far as one needs allies and one needs a common understanding and analysis of what is happening, the 'right' sort of RAT moves people along faster than anything else which works at the level of individual and small group consciousness, except action. *But the kind of action which radicalises people in London is not available in Sussex and Suffolk.* A school which campaigns with pupils who are threatened with deportation is engaged in a process which inevitably radicalises its perspectives, but if the anti-racist struggle can be carried on at all in all white areas it will not be by that means. RAT *may* have a particular usefulness in such areas (Gaine, 1987: p.105, italics added).

Short-term evaluations by the students to courses I either ran or organised were overwhelmingly positive, often very strongly so, but I discuss in chapter 10 why I have little faith that these positive reactions continued. In white areas I think we are left with uncertainty about 'individual' change because of the difficulty of embedding it in people's lived social experience. Especially for ITE students, the fact is that racism remains relatively 'abstract', and the kind of reorientation described by Mullard at the beginning of this chapter is a formidably difficult one to bring about.

Footnotes

1. Though its implications are not clear, one study which locates 'individual' change clearly in the context in which racism is constructed is Smith (1979). This suggests that white

workers became more accepting of black workers following the introduction of strict management guidelines against racist behaviour.

2. One variant was derived from Re-Evaluation Counselling, a counselling technique with quite a long history in the USA, although it really mushroomed in the 1960s and 1970s alongside encounter groups and 'personal growth' (Jackins, 1978). This approach held that racism is hurtful, damaging, and personally limiting on the racist, and that it is actually a liberating and rewarding experience to dismantle one's own 'prejudices' since it frees the 'energy' used in blocking off the systematic experiences of misinformation and the denying of basic humanity, often by the significant others important to us as children.

3. For example, in some guidance about leading RAT I suggested

> British middle-class values are still such that overtly prejudiced attitudes are inconsistent with other beliefs. The unacceptability of actually saying you're a racist is important in British culture... I do not want to make too much of this, nor argue that it really detracts from an analysis of Britain as a profoundly racist society, but the highlighting of contradictions is an effective spur to some people. There is a contradiction in Britain between the rhetoric exemplified in the Race Relations Acts and the real intentions of the Nationality Act, Britain is not yet, in Rushdie's words 'cleansed of the filth of imperialism', but these contradictions are not easy for white people to deal with (1987: p.114).

PART FOUR: FOUR SITES OF STRUGGLE

Chapter Six

The national climate and state policy from the 1950s to the 1990s: an overview

'Race' was not an issue which penetrated British educational literature very much until the early 1970s, and what state policy there was tended to be inexplicit. When national interest did begin to surface it was mostly from what could be called a 'needs of immigrants' perspective, it dwelt on the perceived needs and issues in schools and authorities which had numbers of pupils identified in terms of 'race' - black and Asian pupils mostly. By definition, therefore, this early stirring of interest had nothing to say about white schools and white areas. (Bowker, 1968; Hill, 1976; Morrish, 1971).

By the mid to late 1970s there were many factors forcing a review, forcing 'race' onto the educational agenda, and the ten years from about 1978 to 1988 saw rapid and much contested change. The beginning of that period saw rising unemployment, the first real decline in educational spending for over a decade, and the first large cohorts of black and Asian British-born pupils entering secondary schools. The secondary schools in question were increasingly comprehensives (there was a spurt from barely 50% of pupils in 1975 to 84% in 1979) and some of the philosophy of child-centred education was gaining ground. These different currents met in urban classrooms, perhaps most of all in London, and by 1978 it was being argued by some teachers (not to say many parents and black and Asian pupils themselves) that education was failing them, (see, for example, Dhondy, 1974, 1978; Redbridge CRC, 1978; Stone, 1981). One of the last acts

of Shirley Williams, as outgoing Labour Education Secretary in 1979, was to establish the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Ethnic Minority Groups (later the Swann Report). Again, the agenda was set, not surprisingly, around schools' response to the presence of black pupils.

There is one significant exception to this general picture, born not of urban education but of child-centred education and some of the ideals of comprehensive schools. The Schools Council began funding curriculum projects with teaching materials in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and one of these was the Humanities Curriculum Project pack on 'race', with a brief to aim at all schools. Amidst much acrimony and controversy, in 1972 the Schools Council decided not to publish the materials, for several reasons. Some of the Committee were alarmed by the inclusion of 'expressions of extreme views'; there was concern that the variation of grammar in the extracts from community newspapers 'might bring the Black and Asian communities into disrepute'; and there was some comment about the overly high reading level of the materials (Stenhouse, 1982, p.8).

Whatever the reasons for the unprecedented veto, it was suggested that research continue into methods of teaching about race relations in secondary schools, and the former team continued their work funded by the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Social Science Research Council. (The Schools Council continued work with a different emphasis in the project 'Education for a Multiracial Society' between 1973-6, see Jeffcoate, 1981.) The teaching materials from this work were never published, apparently because by the time they were ready in 1977 the publisher withdrew 'in the face of revised estimates and declining textbook sales' (Stenhouse, 1982, pxx). Many research papers did emerge: Parkinson and MacDonald, 1972; Bagley and Verma, 1972; Sikes and Sheard, 1978; Verma and Bagley, 1979; and finally and belatedly an overview of the whole project by Stenhouse, Verma, Wild and Nixon, in 1982.

The dissemination and the effect of this work seems to have been limited, perhaps because of the non-publication of the teaching materials and the late publication of the main findings. It may also be that the method being tried as one model in the research was that of 'neutral chairman' (sic), and there are some indications in Jeffcoate's comments on the Project (1979) and Stenhouse's own (1982) that this made it unattractive to those most motivated to do any work on 'race' in schools, who were not neutral.

By the 1980s 'race' was firmly on the national political agenda. Though developments went at different paces in different places, there were urban uprisings in 1980, 1981 and 1985 involving mostly (though not entirely) black youths. There was considerable increase in 'race' focused central government spending (mostly through Section X1 of the Local Government Act). Williams' committee reported (DES, 1981; DES, 1985). The majority of LEAs adopted policies about 'race' (see chapter 8), tapping the willingness of government to fund new advisory and developmental posts, (London tended to be perceived as the prime innovator, with some justice). This was all accompanied by a fierce community, professional and academic debate about what form 'racial' education should take. This is explored below, though broadening the debate to white schools was still, while in principle supported by many of those involved in the cities, in practice left to *ad hoc* initiatives.

By 1986 reaction had clearly set in, so that the ascendant mission of those concerned about 'race' was being counter-attacked by those concerned about it in a different way. Gradually priorities were shifted, initiatives were pilloried and marginalised as extremist and 'loony left' (Goldsmith's College, 1987), the ILEA was broken up, a National Curriculum introduced, which in places explicitly countermanded some previous changes, and Section X1 funding was redefined as only available for ESL work and then cut.

Woven into this latter phase, however, is the Education Support Grants scheme supporting development work in white areas. Born of a belated recognition by Swann in 1985 that there was an issue to be addressed in white areas (hence the title of the report, *Education for All*) and a working through of this idea in mixed LEAs with both largely black and Asian and largely white schools, it became a national priority area for development grants and for in-service training. By 1990 most of these reached the end of their limited term funding. Thus ironically perhaps, the issue of 'race' reached the agenda in many white areas just as the debate was being foreclosed in the areas where it started.

Education and 'race': changing perspectives

Most commentators see the development of educational perspectives, and hence implicit or explicit state policy about 'race' in three or four phases (Troyna, 1982; ALTARF, 1984; ILEA, 1983; Mullard, 1984; DES 1985; Richardson, 1985; Troyna & Williams, 1986; Brandt, 1986; Gaine, 1987; Massey 1991). The phases, of course, are not strictly successive, but overlay each other in ways which vary with date and location.

While 'multicultural education' is the term most often used to describe anything to do with 'race' and education, it is often used with no great precision. I shall only employ it with the specific meaning set out below, since I want to argue that terminology in this field has mattered a great deal. Words like 'race' matter; whether employed consciously or unthinkingly a preference for using 'culture', 'ethnic' or 'race' actually demonstrates the ideological underpinnings of any analysis or proposed action. The agenda to do with 'race' has not just changed, it has been a site of struggle; one conception of the issues has not generally abdicated gracefully in favour of a new and younger paradigm. Terminology is revealing of how we see society and the processes of social and educational change, and each new name for 'racial education' has been founded upon particular and different understandings of these things.

Immigrant Education

When black pupils began to appear in British schools in the early 1950s there was no explicit policy about their presence. Kirp (1979) calls this 'racial inexplicitness', and argues that in contrast to the approach in the USA, Britain 'did good by doing little'. Yet the way these pupils were treated and the generalised practices which grew up to deal with them were the product of Britain's implicit assumptions about immigration, which were markedly racial.

The main assumption well into the 1970s was to do with assimilation: the role of 'coloured' immigrants (but not too many of them) was to 'fit in' to an (assumed) monocultural Britain, to aspire to be 'like the Romans', to settle down and in the course of time to move up the socio-economic scale - but not too far. Given what I have already argued in Chapter 2 about the inevitable persistence of a colonial mentality in the 'Mother Country', it seems hardly likely that black and Asian workers from the colonies were expected to rise very far. Britain was decolonising, but in a spirit of regret among many and with the overall view that after years of benign stewardship 'the blacks' were 'ready' to try and rule themselves, but only just. The assumption would have been that their racial background made them culturally inferior and that white people could not reasonably be expected to mix with them at all levels.

Education's task, logically, was to do some of the formal training required for immigrant children to assimilate: this meant English as a second language teaching for those of Asian background and remedial English (at best) for Caribbean pupils whose English was 'not up to Standard'. It was a logical corollary of these ideas that when the proportion of black children became 'too high' in any one school (defined in DES circular 7/65 as about one third) then they should be bussed into other schools: if they were the majority they would not be able to assimilate.

It also follows that this perspective saw little place in school or anywhere else for the backgrounds and cultures of the black and Asian children, nor for their perceptions of how they were treated. The use of south Asian mother tongues was generally forbidden in school, religious provision almost non-existent, and cultural expression (in turbans or salwars) discouraged. It may also be true to say that apart from some resistance to being unconsulted, unvalued and bussed, many 'immigrant' parents were either sufficiently powerless and/or captured by the same ideology to accept this assimilationist model.

Since this view of the world was essentially optimistic, (held as it was at a time of industrial and commercial expansion), self-confident, (it assumed that everyone saw the present and the future in the same way as the burgeoning white middle class), and liberal, (problems will be solved with goodwill and tolerance), it had to hold that 'race' relations were, on the whole good, and would present no problems as long as black numbers could be controlled and black children could be conformed.

Thus 'assimilation' was a policy, and although it was conducted in what Reeves (1983) calls 'deracialised discourse' it was nonetheless racial. While politicians from the mid-fifties onwards talked about colour long before Enoch Powell (see Foot, 1965; Solomos, 1992) official educational discourse was mostly silent. Dispersal went on to an extent before this silence ended with its formalisation as policy with 7/65, but even then it was justified on language grounds. The hollowness of this justification is shown by the fact that in practice, children were selected for bussing by colour: no language test was administered.

One understanding of a policy (Richardson, 1983) is that it is a means by which resources are allocated and legitimacy given to the allocation. In this sense, there was certainly a policy about racial education in the 1950s and 1960s: disperse, conform and assimilate. In this respect Kirp's widely accepted account

needs modifying.

It would be wrong to present assimilationism as entirely past history among those working in the field. It has always technically been the assumption behind most of the direct government funding of racial education. Most specialist 'multicultural' centres and staff have always been funded by Section X1 of the 1966 Local Government Act, including an anti-racist unit in Brent which became the focus of something of a right-wing witch-hunt (see below). The Act, administered by the Home Office, allows for provision to meet needs of 'immigrant' pupils which are either greater than or different to those of 'indigenous' pupils. The rules have over time been interpreted in ways which are quite different from the assumptions implicit in the original act, but as suggested earlier, this kind of language structures thought: one effect of having to use the term 'immigrant' in all documentation about Section X1 is partly to be seen in the persistence of the genuine belief that this is what racial education is about. (See also Dorn and Hibbert in Troyna, 1987; and Etienne, in Gaine and Pearce, 1988). In the early 1990s the New Right in parliament were powerful enough to bring about a refocusing in Section X1 funding on much more explicitly assimilationist principles, in the spirit, they could rightly argue, of the original Act.

In my view the policy of assimilation, implicit or not, is flawed, even if it genuinely aimed at eventual colour blindness. It is connected, of course, to ideas of 'race' and nation which have been reworked and restated in the last decade but which were much more taken for granted in the 1950s (as I argued in chapter 2). These rest on a view that 'racial' difference risks being unmanageable by British society, either because black and Asian people are too biologically different, or that their cultures are inherently alien, or that the 'indigenous' population will 'naturally', be hostile to the 'other' and that this is bad for social order.

None of these propositions are effectively supported either in their implicit, earlier expression nor in their newer exposition by the New Right, except in the sense that it is racism which produces conflict, not 'race' or culture *per se*. Indeed, I have illustrated in chapter 2 how those on the New Right slide between key concepts and ultimately base their case on 'intuition' and mere assertions about what is natural. The phrase 'when in Rome...' does not contain a self-evident truth.

As practical policy for education assimilationism has proved hard to operationalise for two main reasons. In the first place, the concept of British culture is built upon sand, a foundation which became all too evident when the Right tried to build upon it in the National Curriculum of the 1990s. It is hard to provide an ethnocentric defence of a curriculum which includes Tutankhamoun, Bach and Moliere.

Secondly, this perspective demonstrates a poor understanding of history because it pays little attention to what immigrant groups have nearly always done. In brief, they have scarcely ever assimilated on a cultural level in the way the model proposes, at least not within a century or so. Even where structurally, that is in class terms, an immigrant group has assimilated (and the USA, the usual reference point here in this debate, provides few enough real examples of this), then religious forms, language, food and endogamy tend to persist. This is true for the English, Irish, Poles, Chinese, Dutch, Italians, Jews, Spanish, Greeks, Koreans and any other ethnic group one cares to identify in the USA, and indeed it is argued by Gordon (1964) that their structural positions do not represent assimilation either. The same is true in Britain, there are not large numbers of black or Asian people trying to become 'white' people, notwithstanding three decades of educational effort to try and make them. The demand for mother tongue teaching, Saturday schools or separate schooling has not come from assimilated immigrants.

Multiracial education

Some commentators, notably Stone (1981) and Mullard (1984) have identified a second main form of racial education, 'multiracial education'. They argued that this arose in the mid 1960s as the response of some white teachers and black (i.e. African-Caribbean) parents to the racism of immigrant education, and it was later accepted by some politicians, notably Roy Jenkins when he was Home Secretary. It is distinguished from the first perspective by its apparent acceptance of some cultural diversity. In practical terms it promoted varieties of cultural exclusivity, it promoted a recognition that groups were defined structurally by colour and the expression of this in culture.

'Multiracial education' responded to the accumulating data on the self-concept of black children, (Coard, 1971; Milner, 1975) in itself a powerful indictment of the effects of 'immigrant education', so the focus was again on black children. In its most 'pure' form this was realized in the inclusion of black studies in the curriculum of some schools.

> Black anger, frustration, and ultimately, resistance in and outside the classroom spurred on teachers and others concerned with multicultural (sic) education and studies to introduce Black Studies and other 'ethnic-type' subjects into the official curriculum... concern was expressed by black parents and some white teachers about the numbers of children of West Indian origin in schools for the educationally sub-normal, and an increasing amount of money was spent not only on the special needs of these children but on every conceivable - within a framework - activity in multicultural education (Mullard, 1980: p17).

The ideology was one of integration, not assimilation. Black and Asian minority groups (Mullard calls them ethnic-class groups) were expected to integrate politically (eventually) with space

given for some cultural residues. Recognition was given to the fact that black and Asian people were disadvantaged and that some sort of political and educational action had to be taken to provide equal opportunities. Arguably, this fitted in well with Labour party hopes for the 'social engineering' possibilities of education.

Outside the educational sphere, the accompanying social theory was that for the first time a black middle class was emerging; there were black estate agents, travel agents, small employers. It was held to be the beginning of the political and economic integration of a group seen as a kind of class defined by ethnicity, an ethnic-class group.

Aside from Mullard, no other commentator sees 'multiracial' education as such a distinct form. Indeed, Mullard is the only one who takes the various terms as having exact meanings with specific underpinning ideologies. Stone's book is the most detailed critique of 'multiracial' education, although at times she is not writing about quite the same thing as Mullard, and not about Asian children at all. Sarup's *The Politics of Multiracial Education* (1986) is actually about what most writers would recognise as multicultural education (which I examine below).

Stone criticizes most of the work she found being done in 'racial' education, although not all of it really belonged to this phase, but she does identify some practices and assumptions which clarify what Mullard is describing at a more theoretical level. She sees the main thrust of MRE as trying to compensate for the twin 'problems' in African-Caribbean children of cultural deprivation and low self-esteem. Some of the tenets of MRE which she lists are as follows:

- It will help minority group children to develop pride in their identity and their group;
- It will encourage white pupils to see their black

classmates in a more positive light;
- It will reduce alienation of minority group children, especially West Indian pupils;
- By developing new curricula and new teaching methods it extends the concern of the school into the home and the community and thus makes schooling more relevant to groups which are hard to reach;
- The new curricula will be more successful in motivating minority group pupils and in promoting positive attitudes to school and teachers (Stone, 1981: p100).

Stone calls these objectives 'vague and undefined' and suggests they totally ignore the issues of power and control in the school system. She argues that such liberal notions of multiracial education ignore the structural and class forces at work in our society, and hence in our schools and our conception of the curriculum. She points to the well-rehearsed argument that education cannot do other than peddle the dominant culture. Since, therefore, our education system never reflected the culture of the working class, why should it start now with a small section of it? The reality is, she argues, that educationalists have often conceived of education as being a 'leading out' of children from their 'deprived' or 'inadequate' working class culture into a better one, and that this cannot be equated with giving credence and status to black cultures.

Stone therefore argues that from the African-Caribbean child's point of view schools should leave multiracial education alone: home will see to culture, both because it always had done so in historical conditions far more oppressive than Britain in the 1980s, and because she fears the legitimising or subtly dominating effect of the colonising of black cultures by white educationalists, however well-meaning.

Stone described and criticized what she saw as a special form of education conceived for blacks in the hope that it would be more palatable to them, and in the genuine belief that it would be

less racist to do so. What happened, she claimed, is that a second class, marginalised, non-exam curriculum was emerging which would as surely condemn black pupils to disadvantage as the most rigorously ethnocentrist one.

There is much in Stone's analysis that is similar to Mullard's, although it is worth stressing that, as her title says, she was not writing about the totality of education in Britain but about the education of African-Caribbean children. Her preferred solution to the situation was soon overtaken by events. Certainly supplementary schools, of which she was very supportive, have spread, as has her dislike of 'progressive' methods of teaching (but not for the same reasons). Her conviction that black pupils should be given the same curriculum as whites has been orthodoxy since before her book was published, but this is the standpoint of both newer lobbies in racial education and those who have always resisted any change at all - as we shall see.

Whereas Stone seems remarkably uncritical of what this curriculum has generally been, (simply insisting that if black children are going to get on they need English literature as much as anyone else does, whatever the content of that literature), the views of post-multiracial education have been far more critical of what has been offered to all children in the past, but perhaps less critical of the education system's ability to change.

Multicultural Education

I have dwelt on multiracial education because of its clear and specific focus on African-Caribbean children. While there was never a clear break in teachers' motives or in their practice, there is nevertheless a distinction between this emphasis and multicultural education, which was clearly recognisable by the late 1970s.

Whereas multiracial education was underpinned with an idea of the

primacy of class, albeit modified and influenced by ethnicity and culture, multicultural education seemed to conceive of society as composed primarily, and most importantly, of cultures. Various assumptions might be made about the comparative and potential equality of cultures, but the central theme was of a plural social order. Cultures, according to this model, are generated by several things, often in concert: one of these is class, another is region, another is religion, another is ethnicity, so we may speak of 'northern' culture, or Panjabi culture, and these exist side by side in a plural social order, an order differentiated by culture rather than or at least as much as stratified by class.

In truth, however, this perspective emerged from practice and outlines such as the above tend to be drawn from school documents and brief statements of intent in the public domain. It was for a while under-theorised, indeed it tended to attract a practical defence rather than a rigorous theoretical underpinning, though Craft (1982 & 1984) makes an attempt to give it one.

Such social theory as there was underpinning multicultural education recognised that (mostly black and Asian) minority ethnic cultures are devalued, but argued that in principle this could be changed towards a diversity of equal cultures. The Schools Council, in their explanatory leaflet about the Council's initiatives in this field stated that there is move in Britain towards

> ...cultural pluralism, which recognises that our society may be positively enriched by the presence of a variety of cultural patterns... successive British governments have firmly endorsed a policy of mutual understanding and respect for individual differences and cultural diversity.... The goal is a plural society where cultural groups can maintain their own identity, but where there are sufficient shared experiences and values for social cohesion and

> sufficient understanding of each other's culture for stability (1982: p.2).

This document recognizes that the goal it identifies has not been reached, and the reasons it gives for this are revealing of the underpinning analysis:

> ....assimilation is difficult to achieve for some cultural groups now in Britain. Many of these groups are loosely referred to as 'ethnic minorities'.... Skin colour and language differences make some minority groups visibly and audibly distinctive; differences in religious belief and practice may reduce social interaction and intermarriage. Groups which can so easily be identified and which may seem strange or unfamiliar are an easy prey for prejudice, hostility and discrimination (ibid. p.2).

According to this approach, then, the necessity for multicultural education arose from strangeness, inadequate recognition and understanding of each other's cultures, and from individual prejudice. Its remedy has been both summed up and mocked in the phrase, 'the steel band and Diwali' approach: import some 'ethnic' musicians and have some assemblies for the festivals of non-Christian faiths. Others have called it 'steel band and samosas'. It is summarised more formally by the ILEA (1983) and by Richardson (1985).

The Schools Council's perspective was shared by the Swann Report (1985), although it used the term 'pluralism'. It recommended a critical perspective at times, and argued that the central curriculum point, especially in white areas, must be to deal with racism, but it nevertheless had a fundamentally psychological understanding of what racism is. (The closest the report got to closely defining it is in its second chapter, where it used it synonymously with 'negative prejudice'.) Their view of society was as follows:

> We consider that a multi-racial society such as ours would in fact function most effectively and harmoniously on the basis of pluralism which enables, expects and encourages members of all ethnic groups, both minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures, whilst also allowing, and where necessary, assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within this common framework (DES, 1985: p.5).

I would maintain that it is the cultural framing of this approach which ensured its support. It did not mention 'race' and was not underpinned by any notion of class. Its goals were 'tolerance' for white people and integration for black and Asian people. It took the issue of white racism seriously, but saw it mainly as an outcome of psychology or of ignorance. It therefore asked no really threatening questions about cultural, institutional or structural racism.

On the whole, too, it has to be said that it kept the urban focus of its predecessors, whatever the intentions, in practice multicultural education was mainly to be found where there was (ethnic) cultural diversity to celebrate. Nevertheless, it did suggest that curriculum change would be good for at least some white pupils - those in the same schools as black and Asian ones - and it did recommend a shift away from some ethnocentric values.

With hindsight, it is possible to see a storm brewing, of which the first drops were an angry article by a Bradford headteacher in a then obscure right-wing journal in 1983. The apparently non-contentious cultural focus had increasingly clashed with his beliefs about assimilation in his largely Asian school (Honeyford, 1983; Troyna, 1987). His became a celebrated case, but by the time it did so the issue had become defined as wider

than assimilation: what was being fought over was the very notion of Britishness.

Before that debate, however, a radical challenge with a rather different focus needs to be examined.

Anti-racist education

By 1980 there were several writers arguing that the issues should be framed in terms of racism rather than cultural difference and personal prejudice, but it was not until 1984 that this dichotomy came to dominate writing, conferences, policy formulation and common terminology.

The term 'racism' was a key part of the Rampton report (DES, 1981) and thereafter became increasingly a focus in the journal *Multiracial Education*. Workshops at the 1983 conference of the National Association for Multiracial Education found they could not take a common perspective for granted and by 1985 NAME changed its name to the National Anti-Racist Movement in Education, amid heated debate and followed by resignations and disaffiliating branches. Though LEAs, especially urban ones, were increasingly adopting policies about 'race', ILEA became almost the only authority actually to call its policy 'anti-racist'.

By this time the cultural formulation of the issues had failed to convince activists and educators on the 'front line' of urban education, if indeed they ever gave it serious consideration. As one slogan put it, they were concerned with life chances, not life styles. The occurrence of large scale street confrontations by disaffected youth had also served effectively to prioritise 'race' in the sense explored in chapter 2. It was a key political category - 'We don't have culture riots' wrote Sarup in 1986. The All London Teachers Alliance against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF), the urban, black and Asian members of NAME (as opposed to its historical membership of white ESL teachers) and the policy

makers of ILEA and some other (mainly London) boroughs, were all seeking to define the educational inequalities stemming from 'race' in a much more radical way. This generally made a tacit or implicit connection with class. Chris Searle's *The World in a Classroom* (1977) is a good example of this, though the date demonstrates that this kind of perspective was alive some years earlier, and that the temporal sequence I am presenting is somewhat idealised.

We have seen Mullard's and Stone's dismissal of multiracial education not as paying too little attention to class but in misunderstanding its connection to 'race'. Multicultural education, meanwhile, did not really recognise 'race' or class as factors at all. Mullard argued that racism can only be truly understood and combatted from a Marxist standpoint and that, therefore, the only true anti-racism is Marxist.

Though it contained only one rather general chapter about education, the key book *The Empire Strikes Back* (CCCS, 1982) also aimed to give a contemporary Marxist (essentially Gramscian) analysis of racism in Britain and to 'closely relate racism in all its contradictions to changes and problems within capitalism'. In this the CCCS and Mullard would be supported, at least partly, by many in the groups mentioned above such as ALTARF and socialist LEA councillors. The argument was that class and 'race' have different expressions and different power, but broadly speaking they are to be regarded as closely related (if not reducible to the same thing) in that they are part of the system of relations which shape and maintain British society. These are not, the argument goes, aberrations or unfortunate hangovers from the past, they are key and profitable elements of capitalism.

To Mullard, one of the distinctive features of anti-racist education (ARE) was not the classroom practices it recommended but its roots and origins in 'black' people's struggles (in this perspective, almost by definition, 'black' meant all those

oppressed by racism). He argued it was not solely a set of ideas developing out of older ones, but a force, a black response to white racism. It was actually located structurally, whereas multicultural education was, he argued, a surface and cultural phenomenon. (Others have argued multicultural education had a different genesis, it was a white response to black demands, a way of not facing up to the real issues and rendering unpalatable inequalities into cultural differences.)

So unlike multiculturalism, with its rarefied, decontextualised and 'microscopic' view, Mullard argued that true anti-racist education is periscopic, because

> ....it is concerned with the production of quite a different kind of consciousness than that with which it is in contest. Unlike multicultural education which seeks to produce a passive consciousness of cultural differences, anti-racist education seeks to produce an active consciousness of structural similarity, inequality and injustice (1984: p.33).

This partly provided an answer to those who argued that the concentration upon 'race' was a distraction from the class struggle; if in fact the examination of racism was periscopic, if it was in some way a particularly visible part of the crisis of capitalism, then it would potentially illuminate the whole struggle. Multiculturalism, on the other hand,

> ...without abandoning its descriptive and sociologically facile concept of culture and without discarding its ethnic orientation, is incapable of mounting any kind of attack on institutionalised racism (Mullard, 1984: p.37).

The educational practice thus recommended by anti-racists was twofold: firstly to examine and challenge structures and practices, secondly to have a curriculum and a pedagogy which are

liberating, 'periscopic', and transformational in the sense of making students critical of the linked inequalities which they experience.

ARE was more likely to develop a 'left' view of society with racism within it, which in practice might mean much more working-class history, project work on deportation campaigns, examples in maths taken from South African statistics, and the politics of food in home economics. Outside the classroom an ARE stance would also mean considerable community involvement, for example in campaigns about racial harassment and deportation.

Strategies of labelling... Education for Racial Equality

Despite the unambiguous stance of ALTARF, Searle, and (on paper) the ILEA, other teachers and LEAs either were, or appeared to be, more cautious. One of the practical reasons behind the apparent dispute over terminology was simply tactics, the tactics of how to address an issue which was seen as threatening and challenging, and thus to provoke powerful opposition (see Gaine, 1988; Taylor 1985).

Whatever the pervasive level of racism in Britain it could not be argued that it is overtly and publicly recognised, on the contrary, it is often denied. Denial may indeed be a characteristic feature of British racism, what Mukherjee (1981) and Twitchin (in BBC, 1983) have called 'liberal racism'. As I said in a previous chapter, at every Conservative Party Conference since the Race Relations Act was passed in 1965 there have been motions calling for its repeal. These have been partly argued on the basis that the law 'makes things worse', that in time market forces will solve any problem, but also that there is not really a problem.

But if racism is not acceptable, then neither is anti-racism, and educational advocates of this stance have had to protect themselves, their initiatives and their practices from attack.

One obvious line of attack which came from those who denied racism was to impute 'other motives' to those who drew attention to it, and in this respect some anti-racists provided easy targets. Mullard and Searle, and also Hatcher (1985b) for instance, clearly identified themselves as on the left, and it was a simple (if simplistic) task for Flew (1984) to produce a paper suggesting that racism was not the real concern at all (it could not be, since it scarcely existed); 'racism' was simply being used as a Trojan horse in a class war. The same 'reds under the bed' attack was made upon the Anti-Nazi League in the late 1970s, though it was arguably a genuinely broad-based anti-racist movement (Thames TV, 1979; Gilroy, 1987).

Faced with this kind of attack or its possibility, LEA officers, activists and local politicians had to be very careful of their language. The definition of racism Berkshire gave on the opening page of its policy was as follows:

> Racism refers to institutions and routine procedures as well as to the actions of individuals, and to unconscious and unintentional effects as well as to deliberate purposes. It summarises all attitudes, procedures and social patterns whose effect (though not necessarily whose conscious intention) is to create and maintain power, influence and well-being at the expense of Asian and Afro-Caribbean people; and whose further function is simultaneously to limit the latter to the poorest life chances and living conditions, the most menial work, and the greatest likelihood of unemployment and under-employment (Berkshire, 1983).

Despite its critical tone it is important to note that the definition, and the rest of the policy, implied that racism can be countered to the benefit of British society. It does not suggest the total restructuring of British society. (Swann, in commending Berkshire in 1985, explicitly said this is not what

it wanted.)

Hatcher (1985b) called this the 'education for racial equality' (ERE) perspective, reserving 'anti-racist education' (ARE) for more radical stances. To some extent this is a matter of 'ideal types', notional pure forms and personal positions which do not exist in reality with such clarity. Yet while the distinction between ERE and ARE is perhaps more recognisable in a formal and analytic sense than in educational organisation or classroom practice, the distinction was crucial in local politics. While very embroiled in the politics of these definitions I wrote in 1987:

> It is hardly surprising that the formal statements of the ERE position .... do not overtly take a more radical stance, the whole point of radical and neo-Marxist critiques of them ought to be that it would be impossible for them to do so. They are designed to get through political committees. ....the earliest of the ERE policies, Berkshire's, was passed by a 'hung' council, which meant it had to get Conservative votes. Bradford's, indeed, was passed by a Conservative council. The ERE position can be elusive, and usually has to take a stance suggesting that racism is not an inevitable and necessary part of society. But a 'weak' anti-racist position is often argued by those holding a stronger one and who dare not say so. These people work in education, generally in or around schools, where with very few exceptions they deem it personally and strategically unwise to be identified as 'too extreme'. (There is, of course, an argument which says such compromises weaken the struggle and should not be made). The best example of this is Mullard himself, who was involved in writing both the Berkshire policy and the ILEA's, and who now subjects them to a Marxist critique. ....in this territory many people are in disguise. Marxist

> anti-racists call themselves multiculturalists, 'steel band and Diwali' types wear anti-racist badges, and many people combat injustice without a watertight and coherent social theory (Gaine, 1987, p.37).

I was, of course, in disguise myself, though as what I was not always sure. In an otherwise acute account of policies and the local state, Troyna and Williams (1986) seem to miss these strategic realities. They analyze the ideology of policies as revealed in their language, but do not relate them to the real political messages they had to convey and deny. I examine this further in chapter 8.

The chart in Figure 1 is an example of how difficult it was to distinguish ARE and ERE. It comes from an article by Richardson, (1985), then the adviser for multicultural education (note the title) for Berkshire. The first column outlines many of the assumptions of assimilationism, the second of multiculturalism, but the last column seems to be written so it can be defended from an ERE position while giving more than a nod in the direction of ARE. Its use of the term 'black' clearly locates it in the strategic essentialism of the period.

ISSUES AND CONTROVERSIES IN THE SWANN REPORT: A MAP

Immigrants came to Britain to the 1950s and 1960s because the laws on immigration were not strict.	Ethnic minorities came to Britain because they had a right to and because they wanted a better life.	Black people came to Britain, as to other countries, because their labour was required by the economy.
Immigrants should integrate as quickly as possible with the British way of life.	Ethnic minorities should be able to maintain their language and cultural heritage.	Black people have to defend themselves against racist laws and practices, and to struggle for racial justice.
There is some racial prejudice in Britain, but it's only human nature, and Britain is a much more tolerant place than most other countries.	There are some misguided individuals and extremist groups in Britain, but basically our society is just and democratic, and provides equality.	Britain is a racist society, and has been for several centuries Racism is to do with power structures more than with the attitudes of individuals.
It is counter-productive to try to remove prejudice — you can't force people to like each other by bringing in laws and regulations.	Prejudice is based on ignorance and misunderstanding. It can be removed by personal contacts and the provision of information.	'Prejudice' is caused by, it is not the cause of, unjust structures and procedures. It can be removed only by dismantling these.
There should be provision of English as a Second Language in schools, but otherwise 'children are all children, we should treat all children exactly the same' — it is wrong to notice or emphasise cultural or racial differences. Underachievement is caused by home background and culture.	Schools should recognise and affirm ethnic minority children's background, culture and language . . . celebrate festivals, organise international evenings, use and teach mother tongues and community languages, teach about ethnic minority history, art, music, religion, literature.	Priorities in education are for there to be more black people in positions of power and influence — as heads, senior teachers, governors, education officers, elected members; and to remove discrimination in the curriculum, classroom methods and school organisations; and to teach directly about equality and justice and against racism.

For those who genuinely espoused it, the key feature of the ERE position was that it regarded racism as an isolatable phenomenon within society, not an inherent part of its structure. This was not to deny that racism had its origin in colonialism and capitalism, because of the necessity of imperialism and slavery for economic expansion and the necessity of a set of beliefs to justify and maintain it and to later provide a cheap metropolitan labour force. It was to argue, however, that despite this the phenomenon of racism can still be seen as an ideology and a set of practices which can be analyzed and countered separately from the structures of class.

ERE obviously argued that racism and inequality should be addressed more centrally by the school curriculum. It wanted to give pupils a critical understanding of racism rather than hope for 'harmony' through goodwill, and it sought to rethink structures and practices which diminish life-chances for Asian and black people. ERE refined the notion of 'institutional racism', as the network of (sometimes) unexamined assumptions, procedures and practices in British society which have the effect of disadvantaging Asian and black people and maintaining white power. In practice this meant, for instance, positive action on recruitment, monitoring job appointments and being prepared to act upon the results, and having enforceable sanctions for racist behaviour.

In addition, and crucially, ERE argued for work in white areas:

> ...the 'multicultural' conception of racial education has never really caught on outside the cities. It has rather a distant ring in the majority of schools since there is not much (ethnic) cultural diversity to celebrate. As a topic to have an opinion on teachers may or may not be old-fashioned assimilationists, but the issue hardly has the urgency for tomorrow's lessons that it does in central Birmingham, so it will never provide enough of a motive to touch the

> curriculum, and it will be along time before racism appears on the agenda. [Education for Racial Equality]... suggests, however, that there is the possibility of a short cut being taken through the educational development of the big conurbations. Without the distraction, so to speak, of the black communities and the various understandings of their needs in school it would be possible to look directly at the needs of white pupils. People have been right, in a way, to say 'it's not an issue here' when the issue is defined as assimilation or cultural diversity; they are even right, to a lesser extent, when they cannot see active discrimination because there are no black people around locally to suffer it. But if the issue is clearly identified as one of white people's beliefs and practices then the curriculum imperatives are the same for East Grinstead as they are for East Ham. The needs of black people served as a distraction because they have enabled us to pose the problems as black problems - language 'deficiency', poor self-image, 'disadvantage', and as long as the problems were defined as ever more sophisticated ones within black communities (underachievement of young Afro-Caribbeans, young Asians between two cultures, mother tongue maintenance, recognizing Rastafarianism) then white people were able to postpone looking within white attitudes and institutions (Gaine, 1987, p.34).

ERE was not a neo-Marxist position, although often radically counterposed to views like the Schools Council's and Swann's, ERE was in turn criticised in Marxist terms by Hatcher. He noted the extract of Berkshire's policy quoted earlier, and continued:

> This is a concept of equality which accepts the existing hierarchical structure of society. It defines racial equality as proportional distribution of black people throughout the class structure. What

> it aims at is colour-blind meritocracy (Hatcher, 1985b, p37).

With Mullard, he argued that since our social structure and racism are inextricably linked, for our society to claim to have such a goal would be contradictory.

The late 80s - one step forward, two steps back?

The distinction which I was concerned to make as an activist and advocate in the 1980s was not widely taken up. The debate continued in perhaps a rather sterile way between the increasingly stereotyped 'multiculturalists' and 'anti-racists', though a clear stance about racism became a more overt part of language work, particularly the advocacy of bilingual support (see, for instance, Singh, 1988).

The late 1980s saw two almost contradictory developments. The first was the national cementing in place of developments born in the struggles of urban LEAs to come to terms with 'race'. Despite the internal contestation and competing stances, by various individual, institutional and political means the educational concern had spread. One aspect of this was the government requirement upon teacher education to address 'preconceptions based upon race' (dealt with in chapter 9). Another was the emergence of white-areas development work with central government funding (and hence legitimacy) as an eventual outcome of Sir Keith Joseph's response to the Swann Report (examined in chapter 8).

Simultaneous to this in some of the more 'aware' white LEAs was the adoption of policies and the appointment of senior staff to implement them. Gradually, other shire LEAs followed them, and of course in urban LEAs the existence of such policies was taken for granted by about 1988.

The second and contradictory development was the right-wing

reaction to the changes outlined so far: an increasingly concerted opposition made itself felt from the mid 1980s onwards. Clearly, what the phrase 'education for all' ought to mean was open to quite contradictory interpretations.

As indicated earlier, by the beginning of the 1980s some fault lines were beginning to appear in urban education. Real spending was being cut by both the outgoing Labour government in 1979 and by Labour LEAs in the 1980s. The new Conservative government did not reverse this. The first cohorts of largely British-born black and Asian youngsters were established in secondary schools, these secondary schools were now predominantly comprehensive and affected to some extent in some places by the post Plowdenite philosophy of child-centred education. As one complex outcome of this complex situation some LEAs, particularly in London, were evolving explicit policies about 'race' and inequality.

Some of the contributors to the Black Papers of the early 1970s must have felt that their unheeded warnings of their worst fears were coming true. Whatever else was happening, the face of British urban secondary education was undergoing considerable changes. In addition, there may have been those who were not overly concerned with urban schools where black, Asian and working class pupils were schooled, but who began to be alarmed when 'Swann and the Spirit of the Age' (Pearce, in Palmer, 1986) looked like it might spread to the 'white highlands'. A DES report, chaired by an establishment Lord and accepted by the then Education Secretary may have been seen, suggests Tomlinson (1990) as a much more considerable threat.

Right-Wing Pressure Groups

In the early years of what will probably become known as the Thatcher Era there emerged several right-wing policy bodies ('think tanks') and pressure groups. The Freedom Association (originally the National Association for Freedom) was one of the earliest, founded in 1975 just as Thatcher became Conservative

leader, though it was not until much later that it became involved in educational issues. The Social Affairs Unit was an offshoot of the older Institute of Economic Affairs. The Centre for Policy Studies was established in 1974 by Thatcher herself with Sir Keith Joseph, as a promoter of 'new' right-wing ideas.

The growing focus on education was part of a larger Conservative project of constructing a new nationalism for uncertain times. In 1982, as part of a powerful TV programme, Salman Rushdie argued the centrality of racism to Britain in the 1980s

> ....racism is not a side issue in contemporary Britain, not a peripheral or a minority affair, I believe that Britain is undergoing a critical phase of its post colonial period, and this crisis isn't simply economic or political, it's a crisis of the whole culture, of the society's whole sense of itself, and racism is only the most clearly visible part of the crisis (Rushdie, 1982, p.417).

Gilroy (1987) and Hall (1988) have also argued that this nationalism depended on defining the 'British' or even the English by who is excluded. As Tomlinson says:

> The Victorian conjunction between race and nation is still apparent in the presentation of the British nation as biographically and culturally exclusive and monocultural (Tomlinson, 1990: p.34).

In the 1980s, beginning in about 1982 when anti-racism as a stance in urban education was well established, the right-wing policy groups began to multiply. *The Salisbury Review* was first published in 1982. Ostensibly a journal, it had a group of frequent contributors which overlapped in membership with the CPS and the newer Hillgate Group, the Parental Alliance for Choice in Education (PACE), the Campaign for Real Education (CRE), and Parents for English Education. Between them, and with increasing

frequency as the 1980s progressed, these groups or their members published articles and pamphlets (Honeyford, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1987; Hastie, 1986; Flew, 1984; Hillgate Group, 1986, 1987, 1989;) four books: (Palmer 1986; O'Keeffe, 1986; Honeyford, 1988; Naylor, 1989) and actively supported parents opposed in various ways to 'multicultural' education (see Naylor, 1989).

Despite the plethora of titles, Gordon (1986, 1989) argues that the groups had an overlapping small core of members (comprising, in particular, Baroness Cox, Nicolas Seaton, Roger Scruton, Fred Naylor, John Marks and Anthony Flew). Gordon and others (eg Ball, 1990, 1994; Hill, 1990) argue that they were extremely influential partly by the strategy of creating a multiplicity of organisations, and hence generating considerable 'noise'. I would argue that their influence is also clearly to be seen in a selective media sensitisation to issues of 'race'. They supported what became *causes celebres* - Honeyford in Bradford (see Foster-Carter in Troyna, 1987), the Dewsbury parents who wanted their children sent to a school with fewer Asian pupils (Naylor, 1989), and other parents in Cleveland who did not want their daughter to go to a school where they sung nursery rhymes in a south Asian language. Their publications have inveighed against world studies, peace studies, educational theory in teacher training, as well as 'alien multiculturalism'. They had an effect in the construction of a 'debate' about nationalism, and in the Education Reform Act itself, with its 'Christian' assemblies, its abolition of the ILEA, and its marginalisation of 'race'-related measures. More latterly their influence may be seen in the reduction in what became allowable under Section X1 funding and in curriculum content (Ball, 1994).

This was part of a larger Conservative agenda which included homophobia and 'family values': there were other 'others' like gays and travellers. In relation to 'race' the pressure groups were able to help stock Thatcher's populist arsenal in the run-up to the ERA:

> In the inner cities where youngsters must have a decent education if they are to have a better future, that opportunity is all too often snatched from them by hard-left education authorities and extremist teachers. Children who need to be able to count and multiply are learning anti-racist mathematics, whatever that may be (Conservative Party Conference, 1987).

The Production of Folk Devils

The construction of a media agenda has been particularly effective. Goldsmith's College Communications Group (1987) traced a series of stories which emerged in the mid-1980s characterising some councils (especially in London) as 'loony left'. This extended beyond education to include the GLC and its leader, and at various times included the leaders of Haringey and Brent too, and a whole range of alleged 'policies'. Black bin liners were allegedly condemned as racist, teachers were not allowed to say 'blackboard', only 'nonwhite' coffee could be requested in GLC canteens, singers of 'baa baa black sheep' had to substitute green sheep.

The Goldsmith's study observes that of the ten stories they researched in detail

> ....two .... proved to be wholly false. There was no event, order or instruction which could have possibly formed the basis for these stories (p.18).

Of the rest, one came to be 'true' because nursery workers believed press accounts of a ban, and the others proved to have some connection with some event or set of facts, but were so distorted as to be unrecognisable.

Not all national papers showed equal interest in these stories. The *Sun* is implicated in nine out of ten stories, and the *Daily*

Mail in six out of ten. The *Daily Mail*'s sister papers, the *Mail on Sunday* and the *London Standard*, are also prominent in a significant number of instances (p19).

The *Sun* is the subject of another study, indicating that its treatment of education is consistent in terms of politics and racism with its treatment of other issues (Searle, 1989).

They go on to comment on the dissemination of this fiction outside London where it first pupated:

> A worrying feature of much of the press coverage is that many of the stories lifted from the national press or from news agency releases are reproduced uncritically in the regional press.... The journalists on these papers cannot easily check the facts of these stories, and a wholly misleading impression is consequently given to people living outside the capital (1987: p.19).

This was aptly demonstrated at the 1987 NAME conference in Chichester. One of the keynote speakers, then leader of Brent, referred ironically to the 'Baa baa black sheep ban'. Despite having a printed copy of her speech, a local reporter assumed he 'knew' about this affair and reported her as defending the mythical ban (Gaine and Pearce, 1988).

In 1989 I asked five groups of students in Sussex, comprising teachers on an in-service course, primary and secondary BEds and PGCEs about these stories. On average 30% could tell me confidently in which London LEAs they 'occurred', and many insistently added others they 'knew' about. 'Memories' of these 'events' were still easily stirred in student groups in 1994, with a new term to mock: 'political correctness'.

The individuals and the 'policies' became folk devils, easy touchstones against which people could interpret, trivialise and

discount egalitarian measures. Van Dijk (1993) lists the following terms used to describe anti-racists during 1985:

Telegraph:

Snoopers (Aug 1)
A Noisy mob of activist demonstrators (Sept 23)
These dismal fanatics, monstrous creatures (Sept 26)
Unscrupulous or feather-brained observers (Sept 30)
The British race relations pundits (Oct 1)
Trotskyites, socialist extremists, Revolutionary Communists, Marxists and Black militants (Oct 9)
Race conflict 'high priests' (Oct 11)
Bone-brained left-fascism (Nov 30)
The multi-nonsense brigade (Jan 11)

Daily Mail:

Mob of left-wing crazies (Sept 24)
The rent-a-riot Agitators (Sept 30)
What a goon (in relation to Bernie Grant - Oct 10)
He and his henchmen .. this obnoxious man, left-wing inquisitor (Grant - Oct 18)

Sun:

Snoopers, untiring busybodies (Aug 2)
Blinkered tyrants (Sept 6)
Left-wing crackpots (Sept 7)
A pack trying to hound Ray Honeyford (Sept 25)
Unleashing packs of government snoopers (Oct 16)
The hysterical 'antiracist' brigade .. the Ayatollahs of Bradford, the left-wing anti-racist mob (Oct 23).

The agenda having been set, new stories simply had to press the right buttons to evoke a renewed reaction. In 1988 a single copy of an ILEA booklet about stereotyping in maths materials in a Wiltshire teachers' centre provoked national coverage in the *Sun*, *Daily Mail* and *Sunday Telegraph*. The terms 'loony left' and 'extremists' were employed, and interestingly, the 'information' was initially supplied to the *Daily Mail* by Fred Naylor, a Wiltshire county councillor and activist in several of the

organisations mentioned above.

Another crucial episode was the labelling of Section X1 staff of the Brent Development Programme for Racial Equality as 'race spies'.

> Race Spies Shock Race Commissars in a left-wing borough are recruiting 180 Thought Police to patrol schools for prejudice.... And they will be paid for out of a £5 million Government grant intended to promote racial harmony. But teachers in the London borough of Brent - who say they already work in a climate of fear - believe the classroom spies will cause lasting damage in the drive for equality and will lower education standards even further. Government ministers, who are powerless to prevent taxpayers' money being used, are worried that it could rapidly be copied by other inner-city councils.

The story was first mounted by the *Mail on Sunday* in October 1986, and although Brent's was a Section X1 scheme and hence agreed by the Home Office and the DES, the Secretary of State appeared on TV the next day and confessed himself 'disturbed' and called for reports. An HMI inspection which was due in any case was presented as a special 'flying squad' and reported in record time, publishing (without a precedent) before the LEA had seen even a draft (Amory, 1987).

There were many criticisms of Brent in the Report, but not about their equality policies. The HMI said:

> There is little evidence that the work is being distorted by improper practices to do with anti-sexist or anti-racist policies...
> ...the response to ethnic and cultural diversity had been sensitive and helpful... DPRE teachers have overall been welcomed in the schools in which they

work..

Anti-racist policies had made

> ...only modest inroads, but where progress was marked, had a beneficial effect (DES, 1987a).

The inspectors also reported that the ethnic minority parents in the south of the borough felt that the anti-racist policies had not gone far enough.

Baker, however, as Secretary of State called it 'the most disturbing report I have ever read...' and the press, especially the tabloids, greeted the report with 'The worst schools in Britain' and 'Flushing out the fanatics (*Express*); 'Good and bad side of 'loony' schools' (*Today*); 'Schools lashing for left' (*Sun*); 'Baker fury at Brent schools report' (*Star*); and 'These blackboard bunglers of Brent' (*Mail*). The *Evening Standard, Sun and Telegraph* used the opportunity specifically to boost the forthcoming Education Reform Act and the Tory party in the approaching general election (Richardson, 1992).

Another report was commissioned by Brent, chaired by Sir David Lane, former Conservative MP and former Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, and yet another enquiry team was sent by the DES under Baroness Cox, member of the Hillgate Group. Neither of these found evidence of bad educational practice in the DPRE, or any justification for the term 'race spies' and both recommended the continuation of funding. The press, however, reported little of this.

Section X1 has been for 25 years an increasing source of support money for LEAs seeking to meet the needs of black pupils, (generally with less unwelcome attention than Brent). Though often misused by LEAs claiming and then redirecting the funds, it has nevertheless been the primary source of bilingual, ESL, and anti-racist work. In the summer of 1990 a review into

Section X1 was concluded, announcing that only ESL work would be funded in future (DES, 1990d). Two years later it was further announced that the projects and posts set up under this review would only be funded at 50% rather than the 75% level which had been provided since 1967. In September 1990 the then Conservative Brent council announced the abolition of the DPRE. (At the same time it abolished the post of Chief Inspector, making the post-holder redundant. He was Robin Richardson, formerly architect of Berkshire's innovative anti-racist policy in 1983).

A final example of the national climate about 'race' and education which had developed by the late 1980s is the report on Burnage High School, Manchester. In September 1986 a Bangladeshi boy was stabbed to death by a white fellow pupil. The Education Authority funded an enquiry into the death, led by a barrister and staffed by three Asian and black educationalists of national standing. By early 1988 the Committee was ready to publish but could not obtain the consent of Manchester Metropolitan Council. A local newspaper obtained a copy of the recommendations, which it published, and the national press took up the story from there.

The report is over 500 pages long and the *Manchester Evening News* only published the final chapter. Nevertheless they did so with little editorial comment except for commendations for the thoroughness of the document. The enquiry came to 146 closely argued and researched conclusions, one of which was that though the murder was not racialist, it took place in a racist context.

> We have no doubt at all that the murder by Darren Coulbourn was not racialist. There is no evidence that he stabbed Ahmad Ullah because he was Asian or because he was looking for a 'Paki' to kill. This was not that sort of case at all.

They also said:

> ...it was a racist murder in the light of the culture and context in which it took place. Racism was one of the vital ingredients that brought these two boys together in that fatal encounter (MacDonald et al, 1989 p.45).

In the final summary they make several criticisms of the LEA, the head and the school in their handling of the antecedents and consequences of the murder itself. About 12 of these criticisms are about the concept of anti-racism employed at the school, which the Enquiry called 'symbolic' or 'moral' anti-racism'.

> Racism is ... placed in some kind of moral vacuum and is totally divorced from the more complex reality of human relations in the classroom, playground, or community (ibid, p.402).

> We do not believe that an effective anti-racist policy can exist unless the other issues are also addressed and dealt with, in particular class and gender (ibid, p.348).

Amongst their detailed and subtle analysis they say that 'In practice, moral anti-racism has been an unmitigated disaster' (p.402). In this they are challenging the simplistic racial essentialism which while it can lead to oppositional strategies can also limit analysis of the complex cross-cutting of positions in a working class boys' school.

The conspiracy theorists like Flew and the CPS referred to earlier could have found some confirmation in these clauses, since here was an enquiry saying (partly) that what was wrong not just with multiculturalism but with some forms of anti-racism was that they were not left-wing enough. They did not make the crucial connections between oppressions, and in a boys' and predominantly working class school like Burnage things had gone badly wrong because of this.

The line most of the national press took, however, was that the murder had been caused by anti-racist policies and should serve as a warning to those with 'left-wing' ideas.

> They proceeded to mount a sustained attack on anti-racism, anti-racist policies, 'loony-left' councils with such policies, and anti-racist approaches in education and schools. 'Burnage' was suddenly writ large as a question mark against anti-racist education.
>
> A number of education officers who for years had resisted any notions of multi-culturalism let alone anti-racism .... considered their position vindicated. Here, at last, was official endorsement of their view that anti-racism was dangerous...It had even 'led to a killing' (ibid, p xix-xxi).

The outcome in the Education Acts and in education policy

I will examine the effects of right-wing reaction to multiculturalism/anti-racism in teacher education and LEAs in more detail in succeeding chapters. For the moment I want to underline the overall agenda of the New Right and their consolidating moves to realise it with regard to the curriculum.

The rubbishing of both multicultural and anti-racist education which I have described was part of something larger, part of the rise of the traditionalist tendency in the Conservative Party discussed in Chapter 2 and exemplified there by Scruton. This was not the only tendency in education: the different agendas of the traditionalist, cultural authoritarians and the free marketeers roughly correspond to cultural restorationism (Ball, 1994) on the one hand and to vocational modernisation on the other.

While agreeing that much was wrong with the curriculum they

inherited in 1979, the two strands have been by no means agreed on how to put it right. The former strand is exemplified by the TVEI scheme initiated by Joseph in the early 1980s, which tried to break some moulds of both content and pedagogy (Ball, 1990a). Its half-hearted inclusion in the 1988 National Curriculum as 'technology' suggests a shift in power to the restorationists, which Ball (1994) suggests was complete by about 1990.

Gaining curriculum power

At first there was slightly more of a contest. The restorationists were certainly influential: by 1987 it was reported in the TES Hempel that the Parental Alliance for Choice in Education and the Campaign for Real Education were meeting regularly at the House of Lords, the meetings being chaired by Baroness Cox, who in 1988 was a key figure in shaping the RE provisions of the Education Act, as well as a Council member of the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA). At their 1990 conference, the Campaign for Real Education (by then numbering Ray Honeyford amongst its prominent supporters) felt able to claim to have played a significant role in bringing about the Education Reform Act, a possibly exaggerated claim nevertheless backed by Davies, Holland and Minhas (1990) in a critical paper about one of the CRE stablemates:

> The Hillgate Group portray anti-racism as an assault on British values and since they have been the chief architects of the 1988 Education Reform Act they see the National Curriculum as a countermeasure against equal opportunity policies (p.25).

However, the Education Reform Act did make some reference to an adequate preparation for adult life in its preamble. A later circular declared:

> It is intended that the curriculum should reflect the culturally diverse society to which pupils belong and

of which they will become adult members (DES, 1989)

and the NCC identified a cross-curricular 'multicultural dimension' which should infuse everything (though it was non-statutory). The original NCC subject committees were not simply filled with traditionalist stooges, and from Ball's (1990) account they reflected something of the different strands within Tory thinking (and possibly, too, older civil service traditions in 'balancing' advisory committees). The groups were made up of 'people with a range of experience about education, appointed in a personal rather than a representative capacity' (DES, 1987b). In practice they largely consisted of academics, industrialists and staff from public schools and the outcomes of the groups were far from being crudely traditionalist. As far as 'race' was concerned, they all had some positive comment about the necessity for equal opportunities and the recognition that Britain is 'multicultural', though there were few compulsory elements to support these comments and hence no guarantee of their appearance in assessment. In mid-1989 the NCC even set up a group to prepare a document on the 'Multicultural Dimension of the National Curriculum' for June of the following year. The group consisted entirely of experienced practitioners in the field: four advisers, two heads, two lecturers and a professor.

Initial outcomes in the curriculum

With regard to 'race' the final subject outcomes were truly a curate's egg. The maths group came up with the most explicit rejection of anti-racist content of any of the reports (NCC, 1989b), yet the English group, chaired by an old Black Paperite, recommended multicultural literature, media literacy, and recognition of other languages and dialects (NCC, 1989a). The modern languages group rejected the brief of having some (mostly Asian) modern languages in a less favoured category, made promoting cultural awareness 'essential' and recommended the inclusion of Francophone Africa in course materials. The science group said

> Pupils should come to understand that the international currency of science is an important force for overcoming racial prejudice (DES 1989c).

The History group, chaired by a retired naval officer with a country house and a job with English Heritage, looked set to produce the cornerstone of a nationalist curriculum, 'lies about crimes' Christopher Hill warned in *The Guardian* in 1989. Part of its brief said

> The programmes of study should have at the core the history of Britain, the record of its past, and in particular, its political, constitutional and cultural heritage (Nash, 1989).

After an extra consultation and more public, political and media debate than the other reports, a final version was approved in July 1990. The fact that it was heavily and publicly interfered with by Thatcher shows, firstly, that the Working Group did not simply deliver what the restorationist Right wanted and, secondly, that Thatcher made sure the final Orders did.

> On a number of occasions the process of curriculum specification has been reduced to the assertion of a set of personal prejudices held by the incumbent Secretary of State (urged on by cultural restorationist supporters) over and against the best judgement of Working Group members and subject practitioners (Ball, 1994: p.7).

So in various ways the Right were not satisfied with this curate's egg, believing they had lost the initiative to the insidious influence of the education establishment (and for a time to a more 'listening' Education Secretary - MacGregor). Davies, Holland and Minhas suggested in 1990:

> It is important to note that the ERA and the National

> Curriculum are considered to be a compromise for the Hillgate and other radical groups... These measures fall short of their ultimate aims for education... (p.3).

and they were right. One of the CPS complained very explicitly:

> ...the main source of trouble has been successive Ministers allowing the crucial committees, commissions and working parties charged with the detailed implementation of the Act to be dominated by the same sort of people, and sometimes the very same people, as have been responsible for reducing our maintained schools system to the catastrophic condition which the 1988 Act was supposed to remedy.... It is significant that among the original appointees to the NCC and the SEAC there was not even one person who had been prominent among the longtime critics calling for radical reform of the previous establishment (Flew, 1991 p.43, cited by Ball, 1994).

'Stiffening'

As far as influence goes, Flew was underplaying the Right's importance, but the staffing of committees was certainly given attention (in fact, PACE had had one of its Council appointed to the National Curriculum working group on mathematics). Other avowed Thatcher supporters aside, the NCC gained a member of the Centre for Policy Studies: John McIntosh. The Schools Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC) gained another of their members, Dr John Marks (also of the Hillgate Group) who was later also appointed to the NCC. The completed NCC multicultural document languished for months before ultimately being shredded, accompanied by denials that there had ever been an intention to publish (Tomlinson, 1993; conference notes, Warwick, 1991). A single page of their magazine *NCC News was in the end* the full extent of the NCC's written guidance on 'race' (NCC, 1991a, p.5).

By the time 1990 came to an end the explicit placing on educational quangos of members of right-wing pressure groups and think tanks was well established. New ministerial appointments to CATE (including O'Hear, member of several think tanks) were being referred to as 'stiffening' by the *TES*; the husband of the CPS Deputy Director was made the chair of SEAC's English Committee which also contained Arthur Pollard ('arch right-winger' - *TES* 18/9/92); Lord Griffiths, former head of Thatcher's Policy Unit and then Chair of the CPS became Chair of SEAC itself; another member of that Unit, David Pascall, was Chair of the NCC; Chris McGovern, according to the *TES* 'much liked by the Campaign for Real Education' (4/11/94) was appointed to the SCAA History group, as was O'Hear, who is also on the four-member SCAA Steering Group (with Marks) as well as an OFSTED advisory group; and so it went on. In 1994 CATE and part of the Higher Education Funding Council were formally replaced with the Teacher Training Agency, with Cox and O'Hear on the Board; Edward Lister (leader of Wandsworth Council) is on the Funding Agency for Schools; Lawrence Norcross (CPS) is on the Grant Maintained Schools Foundation; Martin Turner was on the SEAC and the SCAA English groups; Marks (again) was on maths; O'Hear was on music.

By 1993 the Conservative chair of the Commons Select Committee on Education had openly complained that Tory Education policy was in the hands of a right-wing clique, echoing a point already ruefully made by the former chair of the NCC English Committee, originally a Baker-Thatcher appointee (Cox: 1991).

Ball speaks of

> ...the capture of John Major and ... Kenneth Clarke by the Centre for Policy Studies.... There has been an almost one to one correspondence between CPS policy publications and Clarke's and Major's policy utterances... (1994: p.2).

By 1992 it was clear that Cox's English curriculum was going to be reviewed with a more 'traditionalist' brief, and the restorationists were in a strong institutional and discursive position to shape music, geography and RE. The furore over music - not a subject that normally gets a great deal of political or media attention - focused on the degree of performance the working group recommended (not to be underestimated as a site of struggle over educational meanings, Ball, 1993) and the emphasis given to the European classical canon. 'This is the curriculum as museum' Ball argues, 'the curriculum of the dead', and the dead are white, too.

In 1994, after several government pronouncements about religious education, a *TES* editorial stated

> ...the zealous Right has succeeded in portraying Christianity as a faith in opposition to all others....[it] has become a key element in that shapeless longing for the past now travelling as a Back to Basics policy. It has not gone unnoticed that the simpler, safer past full of Christian folk is probably also white. In short RE has been presented as a matter of symbol, aspiration and self definition from which many ... feel excluded (21/1/94).

The state of play in 1995

The educational disciples of the Peterhouse School have not 'won' in any simple sense. The current situation is confused by the Dearing Review of the National Curriculum, partly brought about by the teachers' boycott over testing (in fact more of a protest over prescriptive overload). Defusing the crisis meant installing a 'listening' and placatory newcomers (Dearing, then Sheppard) and sacrificing Patten, Griffiths and Pascall, as well as officially reducing the routine denigration of teachers. It also entailed a moratorium on further change of whatever curriculum emerged from the Review, so the Right has to make do

with its victories so far. That these have not been entirely to their liking is witnessed by a tetchy exchange of letters in the TES in January 1995: McGovern complaining there was still not enough British history, other members of the group (which included O'Hear) reminding him about majorities and consensus.

Ball also suggests that the current dominance of the restorationists over the modernisers is inherently unstable because the contest reveals an unresolvable contradiction 'between the need to create the conditions for capital accumulation and the need to maintain social legitimacy' (1994: p.26) - a conflict I referred to in chapter 2.

There is a link, however, suggested by David Edgar in Levitas (1986). To Thatcher and Major, the market is not freedom but discipline. To allow the play of market forces is not to give free rein to libertarianism but to liberate from the controlling forces which ultimately stultify economic development and weaken the individual. '...The crucial role of the free market is not to emancipate the entrepreneur but to chastise the feckless' (p.75). The stultifying controlling forces are the liberal/left social interventionists who direct state funding at 'underprivilege', provide council housing and designate education priority areas, thus nurturing people 'in a society which offered them seemingly endless expectations to personal and social satisfaction' (p.74). Without the discipline of the market, this welfare-giving liberal establishment gives permission to mere licence, resulting in laziness, moral laxity and permissiveness in all its forms (some of them educational).

Edgar suggests this analysis unites the two strands of New Right thinking because it blames the same people, the liberal establishment, for both ignoring market forces and eroding values such as thrift, discipline and 'all the virtues associated with work, the painful acquisition of knowledge' and not least, respect for authority. He adds

> One reason for the attractiveness of the model may well be that it goes some significant way towards squaring the circle between an intellectual adherence to the free market and the emotional attachment to authority and imposed tradition (1985, p.74).

There is a good deal of the language of parenthood in all this: the liberal state in trying to be compassionate in fact gave permission for indiscipline by providing excuses where it ought to have been 'firm'. United in this way, the Right calls for 'the firing of the indulgent nanny and the hiring of the no-nonsense martinet' (ibid, p.75).

There is no necessary connection with 'race' in the circle-squaring which Edgar suggests, so it does not necessarily close the gap identified in chapter 2 between the belief in both racism and the free movement of labour. But it does allow inexplicit slippage between discipline/authority/tradition/ Englishness, as well as identifying the same group of people as the causes of both economic and cultural national decline.

Conclusion

I would now like to summarise the changes brought about by the rise to power in education of the New Right during the Thatcher-Baker era (not all of which have not been discussed here).

It transformed education policy-making. Previously, this had been decentralised and, at best, the outcome of debate or conflict between the key players of teacher unions, LEAs, government, HMI, and individual schools (and at worst a muddle). Increasingly, the tone of non-consultation set by Baker in 1988 was developed into a speciality by Clarke and then Patten, who gave increasing powers to themselves and future Secretaries of State (and correspondingly fewer to everyone else, unless appointed by them) in a series of Education Acts distinguished

mostly by their haste, length and disparateness.

It transformed education. Large parts of the curriculum are now determined centrally, as are the ways, times and many fine details of how it will be assessed. The content and indeed philosophy of teacher education is increasingly strictly controlled. Inspectors are now explicitly an agency of policy. LEAs can make policies but have few funds to put behind them. Staggeringly unequal resourcing to GM schools is taken for granted. Schools almost dare not be innovative, or be perceived as 'radical' because of the marketing inherent in local financial management, parental 'choice' and published league tables.

Some of these changes flow from the economic liberals (apparent devolution of powers to individual schools; 'choice') some from the social traditionalists (curriculum and assessment), and some unite the two (eroding LEA power; league tables). Yet other issues (like the 6th form curriculum) are still to be resolved and reveal a persisting gulf.

What of 'race'?

I argued earlier that the 'race' agenda set in the media and the discursive activities of the Right has had real political effects. This can be hard to specify, though it clearly had its part to play in Brent. Berkshire's policy, too, was nearly abolished by its Conservative council in 1988 (see chapter 8). Reference to 'hard-line', 'interfering' or 'ideological' LEAs peppered the debate about the abolition of the ILEA and in the diminution of LEA powers inherent in LMS and grant maintained schools, let alone the possible demise of LEAs altogether with the growth of the Funding Agency for Schools. Other effects have been illustrated in the shaping of the National Curriculum. There has also been an attack on 'progressives' in teacher education: the notion that the anti-racist folk devils have taken over teacher training became folk wisdom. Tomlinson comments:

> Overall, opposition to multicultural and anti-racist curriculum developments slowly became, during the 1980s, a recognisable right-wing political tool for encouraging a populist view that any such developments threatened traditional education. With this kind of opposition it was not surprising that curriculum reformers have found difficulty in persuading colleagues, councillors, parents and others that multicultural and anti-racist aims and activities were in fact directed towards the creation of a more just, decent and humane education system (1990: p.93).

In later chapters I shall explore what spaces and opportunities this has left for anti-racist work, especially in white areas. There has certainly been a change in the language: the once furious debate between multiculturalists and anti-racists swiftly took second place to the struggle to get even a reference to cultural diversity. The word 'racism' spiced Rampton and had to be swallowed with Swann, yet it does not occur once in a single National Curriculum document. It is clear that the scope for teacher, school, ITE and LEA action is less than it was a decade ago and that as regards anti-racism this is an intentional outcome of the broader educational project of the Right.

Chapter 7

Schools

Part One: Classrooms

> Political education should, through encouraging pupils to consider how power is exercised and by whom at different levels in our society, how resources are allocated, how policies are determined and implemented, how decisions are taken and how conflicts are resolved, be no more likely to lead them to question and challenge the status quo, other than where this is justified, than to defend and seek to retain it (DES, 1985: p.334).

Whatever happens in terms of policy, staffing or documentation, 'education' cannot be said to have changed in any meaningful sense unless there is some change in classrooms, and even that may count for little unless it can be demonstrated that pupils have a different experience and there is some difference in outcome. (It is not axiomatic that the experience or the outcome will be *better*.) I therefore want to spend some time examining work at classroom level to illustrate the difficulties, opportunities and dilemmas of classroom work aimed at anti-racist change.

Chapter 3 sets out the context of this kind of work. Whether in secondary or in primary schools I argue there as I did in Gaine (1987) that with regard to 'race' there are high levels of hostility, confusion and ignorance (which might be better termed 'learned misinformation') amongst pupils. This is echoed in the school accounts of, among others, Carrington and Short (1989); Chivers (Ed) (1987); Epstein (1993); Massey (1991); Naidoo (1992); Roberts (1988); Taylor (University of Exeter, 1985; 1987; 1988); Naidoo (1992) and Donald et al (1995). A brief transcript of part of one of my lessons will serve as a reminder:

Eddie: There must be more than that sir.
CG: Okay, are there more than about 4 per cent of Swindon's population that are black, that's 4 in every 100....?
Peter: Yes... course there is...quarter of the population, I reckon.
CG: Well, if I draw a rough map of Swindon, can you tell me where they all live... you know..... which quarter of the town is full of black people?
Jeanette: No need sir, they all live in Beatrice Street (laughter).
Debbie: Yeah, that's right.
CG: So is all of Beatrice Street occupied by black or coloured people?
Eddie: Yes.
CG: Would others agree with that?
Several pupils: Yes! Yes! (laughter).
CG: Are these people West Indians or Indians and Pakistanis?
Peter: They're all Pakis, Pakis.
Jeanette: We're not allowed to say that.[1]
Peter: Well, I dunno, Parkistarnees then.
CG: So would their names be different to English names?
Eddie: Yes,....course they would.

[At this point I dropped the discussion and went on to something else, but that evening I went to the public library and photocopied the electoral roll for Beatrice Street. I brought it to the next lesson.]

CG: Now, about Beatrice Street....We were talking about it last lesson. I went to the library last night and took a photocopy of a thing called the electoral roll, or electoral register. ELECToral register, what do you suppose it's for?
Ann: Something to do with voting.
CG: That's right, it's a register of everyone who is allowed to vote, and it gives a list, street by street..

each house in it, house by house. They get the list updated every time there is an election so they know who is allowed to vote.....people go round every house with forms and get them filled in. No form, no vote.
Julie: Why are you telling us this, Sir?
CG: Yes, the reason I've photocopied this is that it tells me the names of almost everyone over 18 in Beatrice Street, so by looking at it I can say how many people with Indian or Pakistani names there are.
Peter: Go on then, tell us, I suppose there aren't any at all.
CG: Well, there are 187 houses in the street, and there are 13 occupied by people with Indian or Pakistani names.
Jeanette: How do know that?
CG: Because I recognize Indian and Pakistani names, I was hoping you'd take my word for that at least.....
Eddie: I don't believe it.
CG: But this list has to be very accurate, it has to be reliable otherwise elections could never be held at all.
Debbie: Yeah...well...some of them must have given false names.
CG: Why would they do that?
Jeanette: They're probably illegal immigrants or something.
CG: Do you not think someone would have noticed if most of Beatrice Street were illegal Asian immigrants pretending to be called "Smith"?
Debbie: Yeah, but Sir, they have loads of people in their houses, my gran says they even put beds up in the loft.
CG: Well, okay, let's suppose there are more people in each of the Indian and Pakistani houses than the English houses. How many in the average English, or "white" house?
Jeanette: Four
Peter: No, three, they won't all be two parents and two kids will they....?
CG: And how many in the average Indian or Pakistani house?
Jeanette: Ten, no, eight.
CG: What, two parents, six children?

Jeanette: Yes.
CG: No older relatives? Grandparents?
Jeanette: Two of them.
CG: So that makes 10 people in each of 13 houses, 130 black people in all. That leaves 174 houses in the street occupied by white people, with three people in each house.. how many's that someone? 522 in all (writes on board). So even if your figures are right, which I don't accept by the way, that still means that less than a quarter of the street are Indian or Pakistani.
Debbie: Maybe lots of them have English names?
CG: I think that's very unlikely. I can think of only five Asian people that I know in Swindon with partly English names, but even then only one of their names is English.
Eddie: When was this register thing done?
CG: October last year.
Eddie: Oh, well, that was 4 months ago. They've all moved in since then.
CG: Aha.

This account is illustrative of several things: the pervasive idea of overwhelming numbers of black or Asian people, even within the pupils' own largely white town; the location of these people according to local mythology; the recycling of myths ('my Gran says') about large Asian families packed into houses (lofts even) like sardines; the resistance of these ideas to modification or analysis.

The three dimensions of ignorance, hostility, confusion which I suggested above, together with the sources on which pupils rely, are in practice four rocks upon which classroom work about racism can flounder, certainly they are hazards which have to be negotiated. One also has to choose one's vessel, and as outlined in chapter 6 the choice has usually been represented as multiculturalism or anti-racism, with a possible third alternative of 'education for racial equality'. In practice the examples I have referred to above and the one upon which I shall

focus in this chapter have in common a belief in the educational value of raising racism/racial prejudice explicitly and engaging with the results, rather than not raising it explicitly and working instead with notions of culture and diversity.

There are many questions about method and content which arise when examining any classroom accounts: individual, group or class work; didactic or student centred; teacher committed or 'neutral'; assessable or pastoral curriculum; timing and duration; subject based or cross-curricular, (though some of these are only options in principle, since the actual opportunities will depend on the circumstances in different schools and will have changed over time). Most of these questions can be analysed in terms of the Berlaks' 'dilemmas analysis' (1981), the relevant dilemmas being taken from those Berlak and Berlak label 'curricular' and 'societal'. For example, four of their curricular dilemmas are:

- the most valued knowledge can be seen as personal, discovered and individually relevant *or* as traditions which have stood the test of time;
- emphasis can be given towards the learning of content, bodies of information, *or* processes, skills and critical thinking;
- knowledge can be presented as given and established *or* as essentially problematic;
- learning may be seen as ideally an individual encounter between learner and teacher or materials, *or* as essentially socially constructed and therefore a collaborative enterprise;

and two of their societal dilemmas are also relevant:

- pupils differ only in degree from adults *or* 'youth' and especially 'childhood' are essentially different states from adulthood and hence require different treatment (and teaching/learning strategies);

- there is a common culture and set of values to which 'good citizens' should subscribe *or* there are sub-groups who may legitimately subscribe to different beliefs.

The one dilemma we faced not adequately described in the Berlaks' work is is characterised above as 'teacher committed or neutral', whether we aimed at distance and objectivity or overtly demonstrated engagement and commitment.

As Berlak and Berlak argue, these are not static and discrete positions in teachers' minds but overlapping and highly contextualised, so much so that teachers may appear to behave in contradictory ways at different times. These seven dilemmas, however, seem to me to infuse the process of teaching about racism and to have constantly occurred in our teaching. They therefore potentially seem to offer an analysis combining the multidimensionality and complexity of classroom life referred to in chapter 4, the socially contextualised racist frames of reference explored in chapter 5, and the notion of the teacher as 'reflective practitioner' discussed later in chapters 9 and 10.

I now want to consider a detailed example of classroom work in a secondary school: my own, recounted for a teacher audience in Gaine (1987).

In the early 1980s there were several ways of trying to get 'race' into the curriculum. In my own case I devised a sociology/social studies course with 'race' as a large element in it, in a school where for various reasons the circumstances were favourable to this strategy. The school in which the course was developed was a 'true' comprehensive, in that it contained pupils from all social classes in about the same proportion as the population as a whole, drawn from a wide variety of types of housing. The school was a senior high school organised in what was known as the 'Leicestershire Plan', namely 11-13 junior highs in the buildings of old secondary moderns, feeding 14-18s in old

grammar schools. It had been set up as deliberately innovative in 1969, with a democratic staff-meeting structure, a pupils' representative council which actually decided things, no uniform, and a good deal of mixed ability or at least wide-ability teaching. In the Berlaks' terms, it favoured personally relevant, skills-based, problematised 'knowledge', in a framework which emphasised group work and social cohesion (but was, as they would stress, necessarily constantly engaged in negotiating the dilemmas of which these are part).

The subject heads enjoyed considerable autonomy, a consequence of the school having no faculty structure but a large number of individual subject 'barons'. Another consequence of this was that although humanities existed as a 'low ability' option it did not really exist as a subject since it had no baron. The same was true of generic science, as opposed to physics, chemistry and biology. The school had had from its inception a department of social studies and another of economics, as well as the usual history and geography. Although the sociology option was well established, the two teachers running it both left at the same time. As a new baron, I soon realised that the time was ripe for a 'new broom', not least because a newly qualified and enthusiastic new teacher had been taken on with me. The barons' autonomy was limited only by the head, deputy heads, what prospective pupils actually chose to study (from a pool offering 20 subject at once, at times), and the exam boards.

The head was new, and he was clearly expected by some of the governors to move the school in a more traditional direction. On the face of it this may seem like an obstacle in bring about a curriculum development which many would see as 'radical', yet for reasons I later learned to be grounded in his view of management the new head gave some staff a lot more space than the ostensibly liberal one whose school I had just been eased out of (for being too 'radical'). Copies of my course outlines were always given to the head and the academic deputy, who, despite any misgivings they may have had (and I never knew whether they

did or not), not only continued to allow me to develop the way I wanted to but on occasions defended me from a racist parent and a hostile 'traditionalist' governor.

Another constraint was the pupils' 'choices' since these were mediated to some extent by the staff of the junior high schools, who had fairly fixed views about how boys, girls and pupils of different abilities should be advised. (Few males chose sociology, and although this is a national pattern at any level the causal mechanism was completely transparent here.) This kind of influence on pupil choice did not necessarily affect the content of our sociology course, but it almost certainly affected the responses, and one can only make guesses at how much classes which were more mixed in terms of gender and ability would have responded to this particular material. Be that as it may, since these pupils were mostly female, and volunteers for the subject at that, it is an open question whether the strategy employed here would work in other places. Some teachers will certainly want to say that their own bigots were made of sterner stuff than ours (see, for instance, Cohen: 1991; 1992).

The exam boards were another problem, since the CSE and GCE boards had no sociology/social studies syllabus. On the other hand, these were the days when, if teachers wanted to, they could submit their own courses to CSE (and exceptionally GCE) boards, producing a 'Mode 3' course. A slightly easier solution was found in the Joint Matriculation GCE Board's course called *Integrated Humanities*,[1] which worked like a mode 3 in that teachers designed and graded the assessment and had considerable control over the course content. Apart from the advantages it gave in teaching about 'race' it allowed for far less dependence on timed final essays and thus, as we saw it, could test for a wider range of useful skills. We then simply devised a CSE to match.

The overall scheme offered fifteen units of which a school had to teach five (or four and add one of their own), making one unit per term. Since we were operating in the school under the title

of sociology the subjects chosen from the board's options were: *the Family*, followed by *Persecution and Prejudice*, *Class and Politics* (our own course), *Education* and finally *the Mass Media*. Put another way, term one actually focused a lot on gender inequality, term two on the inequalities which arise in Britain from 'race', and term three on class. The two terms in the (then) fifth year examined the wider significance of these inequalities in the institutions of education and the media. The focus on inequality could have made us easy targets as leftists engaged in indoctrination, though on the few occasions when this arose we successfully argued that we were encouraging a critical awareness rather than with imposing any single interpretative view. (It was nevertheless one of the dilemmas listed above, with no single resolution. I commented on at one time by saying 'When you're on thin ice you have to keep dancing'.) In any case, some of the diary accounts quoted later from pupils themselves suggest that 15 year olds are not so easily manipulated. In the midst of many lessons on the subject, Marianne still feels free to write

> *I think that it is a bit stupid that the Asian men and boys can't cut their hair or beards because when a young Asian boy is growing up he might want to be like English boys, and he might not want to wear a turban on his head....*

and Lee, having spent some time in class examining the roots of post-war immigration can still say

> *Nearly all the Empire's countries wanted independence, now they want to come over here. This is a white country as well.*

In a way we were helped here by the board's assessment criteria, which made recognisable academic demands. There were four criteria:

1. Knowledge;
2. The ability to locate and select evidence;
3. The interpretation of evidence and evaluation of argument;
4. The presentation of explanations, ideas and arguments.

These were weighted so that the first counted for more than each of the others, and assessment tasks had to be set so they tested these skills.

As I have indicated, this approach was taken because it was an available 'space' given my sphere of influence. Had I been responsible for the school's pastoral or history programme I would (presumably) have developed anti-racist work there instead. The 'academic' locus of the work is, however, worth discussing briefly, since many other schools (like Roberts', 1988) placed their work firmly under headings like Personal and Social Education (PSE).

There are two arguments for doing so. The first is that issues like racism are matters of values and hence better considered in a PSE climate where teacher authority is (potentially) more muted and where differing opinions are heard and valued more than they might be in 'academic' lessons. We took issue with this on two counts.

Firstly, much of the 'academic' curriculum is about values in one way or another, though it is not always made explicit, and indeed in this respect some subjects were culpable of maintaining or reinforcing racism by hiding behind an allegedly value-free position - an argument put in history by Prieswerk (1980) and Prieswerk & Perrot (1978), and in geography by Gill (1984); Hicks (1981); Naidoo (1985); Wright (1982) and Walford (1993). We felt that the engagement with values as well as the factual material of a beginning sociology course was just the kind of educational work we wanted to do, interwoven with the four criteria set out above.

Secondly, the difficulty of posing the issue as one of differing *opinions* is that it privileges points of view rather than evidence. We wanted pupils to become more critical of received wisdom, myth, media representation and stereotypes and to encourage respect for evidence and sources. We took this to be a critical part of 'doing' social science, part of which needs to be learned by the conventional academic means of reading, statistics and analysis. We wanted to get beyond the view that mere differing points of view were all that was at stake.

The second argument for examining racism in PSE is that in large part racism involves the affective domain: it is a highly emotionally charged issue to many people. To ignore this and to treat the issue as if it were solely cognitive and accessible through rational analysis is educationally naive. Just how naive is illustrated by the following piece of writing from one girl after a simulation exercise where many of the class had to take on the roles of would-be Indian migrants trying to enter Britain in the 1960s:

> *When I first walked in I didn't know what to expect, just a sort of play or something. When they first gave out the envelopes and things I thought it was a bit stupid and didn't really see the point of it. At first, when we started playing, I thought it was a big joke, but then, trying to get my pretend wife over and trying to get a job, I began to get a bit impatient and angry because no-one would help us. Every time we wanted something there was always an excuse to stop me, people kept calling me Paki as if colour mattered, and that made me feel angry, not just at them but at myself, 'cos I've done the same sort of thing, not out loud but to myself as I saw a coloured person. The things the people in the drama thing wanted to know had no relevance to me, I didn't realise that sort of thing actually goes on. I know it was acting and everything was overdone, but if I got angry and*

annoyed during that short time, only 45 minutes, I wonder how the coloured people feel going through it every minute in every day, it must be humiliating and degrading. When my pretend wife said "Go over and get a job and send me back the money". I didn't want to leave her, and I didn't want to be on my own, where I didn't know anybody. Then I worked as hard as I could to get the money and then we had to fill in a form, then another form. In the end we bribed the man to let us through ... The next time I see a coloured person I expect I'll pity them, but I don't expect they want pity either, I won't know what to do or say, but I will pity them inside. I'm really glad I'm not coloured, not because of the colour but because of what they have to go through just in order to live a life, and even that life isn't really pleasant. Coloured people are always called names like wogs, Pakis, jungle bunnies etc. I don't even understand these names yet I use them. White people seem so false and hypocritical to the black people. Coloured people seem so down to earth and real. From watching the film I know people hurt, but I never knew how much they hurt. I didn't realise some things went on. I wish I hadn't been brought up in a racist culture then maybe I wouldn't feel so guilty now. When you read things in the paper about fights and things involving black people you don't think about the white people involved and you think "Oh, that doesn't involve me so why should I worry". I wish I knew a coloured person, I mean, really well, then if I went out with them I could feel I wasn't racist and I didn't care, but that's hypocritical as well, because I would know their colour and I shouldn't care about it. I would like to write to a coloured person in another school in Britain... but wouldn't the person mind being singled out to write to me just because they are coloured?... Maybe it will make me feel and react

> *better if I know just how they feel about everything... we think they owe us a lot, but really the way most of them are treated they don't owe us nothing but hate...* (Sue, aged 15).

In this girl's work we see the interaction of insights gained in the affective domain with other perceptions and the re-evaluation of her own experiences. She is clearly experiencing more than solely cognitive learning and what she says is a persuasive testimony of how powerful such learning can be. In fact we recognised the force of this, believing that the critical educational task was to promote an engagement between the affective and cognitive domains as well as dealing with values, to make explicit in classroom life the struggle which can go on between learned, unquestioned beliefs and new facts or interpretations. My notes on the classroom transcript reproduced earlier show an intention to bring out this struggle, to try to spotlight for the pupils the tenacity of their demonstrably misinformed conviction about Beatrice Street. I thought there was clearly some element of a game in it, several of the arguers must have known on a rational level that they could not support their case, but their emotional conviction (it seemed to me) was still in there fighting:

> It was interesting to keep an eye on those not participating, because they began to realize one by one how absurd the argument was, and once freed from the idea of Beatrice Street being full of Asians (most of the class, after all, never having actually been to Beatrice Street), they could watch and listen with some detachment the prejudiced mind in action. For them I felt the session was valuable, though I am not so sure about the arguers (notes, also cited in Gaine: 1987).

Nevertheless, in the conduct and organisation of the course, there remained an unresolved problem about assessment. In

practice, while we may have been encouraging and claiming to value in lessons the engagement of cognitive, affective and moral domains, what was finally valued in terms of formal rewards was only the cognitive. It could be argued pragmatically that since the examined curriculum carries the most status with almost everyone, including pupils, then if anti-racism is to have status its best location in the curriculum is obvious.

> .. it seems to me realistic to expect the continued domination of secondary education [by exams] and no decline in society's expectation that schools will have a grading function. If this is the case then the important work of a school will continue to be seen as the assessment-orientated work, so if 'race' is important it should be included with the other things schools give priority to. After all, what kind of argument is it which, in effect, does not question the divine right of geography and German to remain as examinable subjects, while newer concerns have to fight the double battle of recognition and status. (The battle has to be fought in pupils' minds too; they have little doubt about what 'counts' in school.) (Gaine: 1995; p.69).

This is, however, only a pragmatic argument compared to the previous ones which are founded upon educational and pedagogic principle. It was a resolution, of sorts, of one of our dilemmas.

Having given the background to the work I now want to give some flavour of what it was like. We had three hours a week for a term, in which we covered, after some general introductory work, factual and historical material about immigration to Britain and some descriptive accounts of minority group cultures. (In practice the time we spent and the detail into which we entered would rule out this work in most PSE curricula.) We then followed Allport's notion (1958) of 'stages of intolerance'

(antilocution, prejudice, discrimination, physical attack, extermination). The pedagogy was fairly conventional in terms of using written materials (sometimes necessarily written by ourselves) or videos for pupils to discuss and respond to orally, and in the use of sets of questions, structured enquiry, and essays. We did, however, trawl quite widely for our sources: some of the videos included very powerful personal testimonies from black and Asian people, we had pupils doing their own enquiries with family and friends about beliefs on 'race', and used a taped interview I had made with the local National Front Organiser.

We also got pupils into the habit of writing a continuous diary during the course. Called a 'Learning Log', it was intended to give some expression to the affective domain and to allow more individualised communication between the teacher and the pupils than is possible in a whole class setting. The pupils wrote the Logs and we took them home and wrote comments or replies on their reflections and questions, sometimes modifying the next lesson if particular issues arose in their writings. Marianne's, Lee's and Sue's comments above are from their Logs.

Extracts from other Logs illustrate how we used them, their informal style, as well as the level of feelings involved. I have selected unedited passages from three so as not to disturb the dialogue and to reinforce the earlier point about pupils not being mere putty in the hands of teachers bent on simplistic persuasion. Both begin with responses to the simulation referred to above:

Simon: *When I arrived I thought it would be a boring lecture by some black person about race relations, then when I got into the room I thought it would be a play by some morons. The game was all right, it was easy to pinch the money from Mr ---, he was a sucker. All the white people wouldn't let the black people get a job. All in all it was a good game, it was more like real*

life than a game. All the blacks couldn't get a job, only if you pinched one, and the same applies to buying a house, you couldn't nick one. I have learned that 43% of black people are born in Britain. End of chat, OK?

Teacher: *You say this was fairly realistic, can you explain this a bit more?)*

Simon: *No.*

Every black person has a lot of difficulty getting in here, we found this out in the reading you done. Since we are in the EEC we have to let in the frogs and all of that lot in, so we stop all of the blackies getting in by putting them into detention centres and questioning them a lot.

Teacher: *Simon, it appears from what you've written that you're not keen on any foreigners being here, from any countries... can you explain why? And here's something to think about, there are few "pure" British people in this country, most of us came from very mixed backgrounds of different European and Asian countries.*

Simon: *Us Brits emigrated to find jobs which are scarce in England today. Some people go to Antipodean countries because the climate is better than ours, it's warmer and not so crowded as England like today. It may be cheaper as well. We found out that the black people are scared of us more than the NF or the British Movement. They have learned not to be scared of the NF they are scared of the innocent passers by.*

Teacher: *I think you've misunderstood the message being put across in the filmstrip. Groups like the NF show their hatred, black people are frightened of them, but they know to expect hatred from these people. You say blacks are scared of the innocent passer by, this is where you've missed the point really, because people who aren't members of the NF have continually been unkind to blacks it has made them more wary of white*

people. If you were to meet someone who was tolerant of you one minute then turned on you the next and this happened more than once, wouldn't you begin to suspect all people's motives when they wanted to be friendly? By the way, I don't know why you drew the Union Jack on the back of this log book, what are you trying to say? PS. Do you know anything about the National Front, British Movement, Ku Klux Klan?

Simon: *Yes, a bit. The NF don't treat them fairly and hate 'em. The Ku Klux Klan is the American version of the NF who wear white hoods and burn crosses on black people's doorsteps.*

Teacher: *Do you know the reasons behind this hatred?*

Simon: *They don't like them of course.*

Teacher: *Yes, but why?*

Simon: *I feel that the black Asians should wear what we wear, not a load of rags, which the females do wear. If the 4 per cent of blackies were to leave, the unemployment would go down. So the Pakistanis are getting the jobs that the British would want.*

Teacher: *Aren't you being rather unreasonable saying that people who don't wear the same clothes as you do wear rags? Why do you think it is necessary to criticise other people for not being like you? Can you not accept others? I'm also rather confused by your ideas that black people leaving the country would help the unemployment problem. Are you saying that people in those jobs are preventing "white" people from working? If so, I think you'll soon discover that you aren't quite right in believing this.*

Simon: *Well, it would not be true to a very fine point, but if they leave, the unemployment will go down. I think that if you were black and you committed a crime you should be deported back to India or where you came from. That would slow down the unemployment and have more places in the prisons.*

[About a film...] When that bloke arrived he thought

he was dreaming, but only on the train ride. But when he got to the cities he must have been flabbergasted to find hardly any turbans on Asians' heads. He must have had second thoughts about his visit to here and he must have wanted to go back, but his family needed the money.

This series of seven entries and six replies took place over 13 school days. There is mixture here of recitation of common myths together with some ability to empathise with experiences of racism. John's Log, a longer (four week) section of which follows, is more unambiguously hostile:

John: *I thought that it was a bit one-sided because it did not show how the whites were mistreated by the blacks, because once the equal rights act was passed the blacks thought they were god, and .. (illegible)... is afraid to run them away because he will get in trouble with the race relations board. And they are scared because the nignogs might write to the newspapers and have all those do-gooders going mad. And it didn't tell you that all the coons coming into Britain go straight into a council house with it fully furnished, and they have hundreds of kids running all over the place. This part gets right up my nose because all you hear is the poor Pakis are being victimized, nothing is said about the British people who were born and bred here and haven't got job or money and a lot have nowhere to live. If we spent as much time and money on our own people it would be a lot better. And it isn't the whites who have race riots and go around mugging people. There was an incident in this school where a boy was going home from football and a black came up to him and hit him for nothing.*

Teacher: *John, your ideas about the black people arriving in Britain and going straight into fully furnished houses don't seem quite correct. Where did you get this*

information? I can see you feel bad about the fact that there are white British people with no money, no jobs, etc., but this hasn't got anything to do with the numbers of black people in this country. If they weren't here, we'd still have a lot of poverty amongst white people. Hopefully, I'll try and explain this during the course. PS. You were obviously angry after Thursday's lesson to draw the Union Jack on the cover of the log book, what are you trying to show me by drawing this?

John: *I think that the blacks are put down, but too much is made of it, because nothing is said about the things that happens to whites that if anybody takes the mick out of blacks they go mad and call you a racialist, but if they take the mick out of us we just give it back. If they don't like the way they are treated they can go somewhere else where they will be treated better, and stop annoying us. And if they can't afford it let the government pay, I doubt if the British people will mind. This doesn't affect the blacks like Jamaicans and Africans, but this should be done to the Pakis and the Indians.*

Teacher: *Hallo. Why do you think blacks react so quickly when they have the mickey taken out of them? Could it be that they don't like it because it happens too often and it isn't a joke to them? Is it more than taking the mickey? The names some black people are called are insults and shouldn't be used. It would not be right to insult someone every time you spoke to them. You say if they don't like the way they are treated they can go somewhere else, is this realistic? Where? Why? Why do you think this is a possibility? You make a distinction between West Indians and Indians and Pakistanis, why?*

John: *I think it is one sided so far, we have only looked at how the blacks feel. The pink minority groups have only been frowned upon, we learned nothing about how*

the NF or the Nazi party feel, or even the British party. These are minorities as well and I think we should know what they feel.

Teacher: *Well, John, you're jumping the gun a bit. We will be looking at the "pink minority" groups which you mention and you will get to know what they feel. This will come later on in the course, so be patient! And in the meantime begin to think about where your attitudes have come from and why you hold them, I'd be quite interested in this.*

John: *There has never been a foolproof system to stop illegal immigrants.*

Teacher: *Of course the idea of a fool proof system isn't possible, but think along these lines ... why do you think people might bother to enter the country illegally anyway? PS. When you were playing the Passport game did you every consider illegal immigration as a possibility? Did any other Indian citizens consider it?*

John: *I think the immigration should be the same of all immigrants no matter they are white, black or blue. I don't think we should let people from the common market come in so easily, and definitely not from Arabia, because one minute they hate us and the next they are living here.*

Teacher: *Basically I agree there should be the same immigration laws regardless of colour. But as a member of the EEC we have agreements with the other 11 countries to have unrestricted entry for all citizens so we can't break this agreement. What should happen is that the law should be made more realistic and humane, by limiting numbers if necessary but not treating blacks so differently from whites.*

John: *I think we should come out of the EEC because it has only been trouble since we started. And we would have to have a lot of strangers coming over. The information I had about them coming over to a fully*

furnished house is first hand experience. Some blacks next door to my Nan got a house fully furnished and for nothing.

Teacher: *How do you know this? Did you speak to the people?*

John: *If the blacks were not here we still would have some jobs even if it wasn't very many, plus we would save money because they wouldn't get the dole. I have had more experience with the West Indians and I just don't like Indians and Pakistanis.*

Teacher: *Why?*

John: *I accept that some Asians who have been born over here are British. But I would have thought that the wish of the white British people could be considered. Because they don't want any more black people coming into our country, and if there are white people who want more in it is probably a minority. Why should a minority rule a majority?*

Teacher: *In fact, there are very few black people entering Britain today.*

John: *West Indian Culture. The main religion among the West Indians is Christianity, this is because England went over there and converted them. But they do not worship like us, they sing and shout and mainly go daft, but us British we keep serious. The West Indians have the same family system as the English because we taught them what to do and to keep their family down. They have turned to the religion of Rastafari because they say they are being victimized by the white people and their society, so they have made their own to combat the pressure they say they are under.*

In a way these are individualised versions of the classroom transcript used earlier, except that they are more private and hence the dialogue may not have the same degree of public 'face' to be saved. A whole class discussion on these kinds of issues presents some opportunities but many problems. Many issues will

be raised which are difficult to address all at once, yet shelving them may look like sidestepping. In addition, a few spokespeople speak for the class (perhaps), the situation easily becomes an oppositional one where very strongly held beliefs are being challenged, however gently and coaxingly, and many pupils will retaliate with hostility, disruptive 'humorous' comments, suspicious silence, and withdrawal. As I argued in chapter 5, there is an important relationship between 'attitudes' and wider aspects of one's sense of self. These pupils' beliefs have functions: in Katz's terms they interpret knowledge, win interpersonal rewards from others, express values and, perhaps, hide felt deficiences by asserting superiority over others, so they are not easy to give up.

The Logs avoided some of these public pitfalls. There is ample evidence of the kinds of beliefs charted in chapter 3: about Britishness, unemployment and immigration numbers, some distinction being made between black and Asian people, local stories about 'blacks being given housing for nothing' as well as of knowledge of the NF's capture of the Union Jack as a racist symbol. The teacher's comments were written quickly and off the cuff (each of us had 60 to work with) and while informal are not neutral. Nevertheless, the two boys here are prepared to engage in the dialogue rather than be simply compliant, though there is no great evidence of an attitude shift. Mandy starts out with no particular position, or at least what looks like a fairly unthinking one (she uses 'Paki' routinely but acknowledges later that she has barely thought what 'immigrant' might mean). She does not find it hard to spell out what she has learned nor to acknowledge her areas of ignorance:

Mandy: *On Friday afternoon I thought we was going to watch a play. I did not have any idea that we was going to play a game. I found the game very interesting apart from me being a Paki, as it was harder for us to get a job and to buy a house. Like when I queued up for a job they wanted to know my name and where I lived*

but I could not even pronounce my name so I was taken to the policemen and he sent me back to India, so then I had to pay another £400 to get back over to Britain. Playing this game shows that it is harder for Pakis to get a job than what it is for white people. Like they got called names like I got told I stunk of curry and other rude comments like that. I don't really think this is fair to Pakis, like they say go back to your own country and get a job there. So really, playing this game showed me how hard it is for a Paki to get a job as this most probably does happen in this country. You can't just say that black people are bad, as you have got to listen to both sides of the story first. Like when a white boy got beat up by two coloured boys older than him we don't know if the white boy asked for it by calling them names. I can't say that I am prejudiced because I have nothing against blacks. Like there is a coloured girl in the 5th year called... and I think she is really nice, and she gets on with nearly everyone. Some coloured can be nasty like beating up people for no reason. But I agree with most of the things we have been talking about in this lesson.

Teacher: *It's interesting you say you aren't prejudiced, but I'm puzzled as to why you use the therm "Paki" when describing Asian people. There's more than one black girl in the 5th year, but being in such a minority it must be very difficult to be seen as a person, rather than "one of them". I'm glad you found the game interesting. I'm sure the course will be interesting too.*

Mandy: *When black people come to live in England it is very hard for them to get a job. The people that work in the job centres or when they go for an interview they always turn the black people down and say somebody else has already got the job, which I don't think is fair especially for the black people who was born in*

England. The workers don't give them a chance to find out what their personalities are like etc. They just take coloureds to be the same, by creating trouble etc.

Teacher: *And this is based upon misunderstanding about stereotypes!*

Mandy: *Hi again. It is easy for white people to get into the country than it is coloureds. Before this lesson I didn't have a clue what immigrants meant, so really I have learned a lot from this lesson.*

Teacher: *That's what I like to hear!*

Mandy: *It is interesting to learn about Asian culture, about where they come from and what religion they follow. I think it is also weird the way they dress, what with the turbans and the way they let their beards grow and their hair down their back, but that is their way of dressing, I suppose, they probably find our clothes weird. The thing which I found interesting today which I did not know before was that the Sikh names, with Singh as a middle name for a man and Kaur for a woman.*

Teacher: *I'm glad you found the lesson useful in some ways....*

It would be naive to pretend that there is no teacher power being exercised in all three of these extracts. Though the tone is fairly informal, it is clear where she stands and the kinds of things she will take up with pupils (though she does not at this stage challenge John's racist language). The pupils are used to the Logs, so they know that the teacher sees them as part of the learning process, and unless they are completely indifferent to teacher approval they know they need to acknowledge at least *some* learning. They also wanted to pass their CSE/GCE. On the other hand, the pupils were very far from being coerced. They had (within limits) chosen sociology in preference to other options and many (though not all) gained enjoyment from learning.

I would claim that the whole course (not just this unit) aimed

to suggest to pupils 'The world is not quite as it seems', which is after all, a fairly mainstream sociological approach. This is more than to treat them as 'cultural dopes' (Cohen: 1992) who need enlightening. They had taken to this positively in the first term which focused a good deal on gender, though they often found this less threatening than 'race' and at various later stages in the course we encountered deep-seated stereotypical beliefs which were hard to contest, for instance, about social security claimants and about divorce being 'too easy'.

If pupils recognised their own stereotyped beliefs for what they were, there was a risk exemplified more than once in the Logs (and not least by Sue) of simply inducing guilt. This is unproductive on its own, could hardly be defended as a worthwhile educational goal, and could easily produce a backlash of resentment in a class (which could come out as hostility, passive resistance or boredom as exemplified in chapter 10 in relation to student teachers and as Katz's analysis above would predict). Another advantage of the Logs was that they could express this and allow some kind of response from us.

Most Logs were more like Mandy's than John's, and a minority contained passages like Sue's, which suggests that given the opportunity to react and reflect and the time to go into reasonable depth the apparent indifference or hostility discussed in chapter 3 is not as intractable as it might appear[2]. As beginning sociologists the time and subsequent depth was necessary. As learners the pupils needed the opportunity to express feelings and to have them responded to. For instance, after the initial simulation the oral debriefing dealt primarily with the feelings pupils had experienced (though there was also some linking of the simulation's outcomes to outcomes in real life). These are some representative comments from the Logs of one class afterwards:

> *....it showed us what it is like to be an Indian and to be treated like one....*

We ...discovered what it was like to be called Paki etc, that wasn't too nice to begin with but I got over that, probably because I had the reassurance that after the game I would be English again...

....but in real life it is not a game...

....I was an Indian and everyone from England turned a blind eye to us and wouldn't let us into England. I found this made me angry. Now I know what they go through.

....I think this was a very good way of showing racialism and I think that everyone just realised how important it was and is....

....It didn't bother me when I was called a Paki or golly wog etc. I think a lot of people are racialist because they don't know the reasons blacks are over here or just do because everybody else is. But some blacks take offence even when it is not meant or said as a joke. Why couldn't they send them back for free, because they let a lot in for free?

The next element on the course was a programme with some very powerfully stated black and Asian viewpoints. The opening parts of the programme concentrate on feelings of exclusion, rejection by whites, black and Asian people's fears, and contain some first hand experiences of the kind of brutal direct racist attacks which are seldom seen (or believed) in all white areas. In the Log extracts which follow there is both an affective reaction and (in some cases) the beginnings of an application of their other learning:

...Well, I don't think that coloureds should be treated like an outsider. OK, their skin's darker than ours, but does that make them different from us? I

don't think so. As for people saying go back home to them, that's rubbish, a lot of them were born here (Jane).

In the film a boy said how he went for an interview and while he was there two coloured girls came into the shop and asked if there was a job going. The first thing the manager asked was 'Are they black?' Yes they were, so they got turned down. What happens if a white person went into a black man's shop and asked for a job and he got turned down? There would be uproar (Linda).

From the lesson we found that people are prejudiced against the black race although they don't realise. It's mostly because of the way they were brought up. I think if books, the media and your parents gave an equal account of whites and blacks the country wouldn't have the problems of prejudice and discrimination against the blacks, although liberal discrimination is not really noticed a lot by the whites but noticed a lot by the blacks (Steven).

Controversially, we spent some time on the course teaching about immigration. To do so runs the risk of allowing racist myths to define the terms of the argument, the 'liberal' teacher trying to prove a lower figure than the class believes and thereby implicitly conceding that 'the fewer the better'. As far as content goes, however, myths about immigration have provided the flesh on the bones of racism for over twenty years and our argument was that deconstructing the myths was an important 'sociological' experience. As explained above, the pupils had already studied other aspects of society involving statistics, and these had been generally taken on trust. Why they had a much greater emotional investment in statistics about Asian and black people is something we wanted to bring out, at least to the point where some pupils were eventually prepared to say 'I don't accept

your figures because I don't want to'.

One of the resources we used for this section was a film about immigration control. Pupils (and adult audiences too) tended to find it fairly shocking in parts, bringing them as it did face to face with some of the realities of immigration control. On a general level it pointed out the strength of the law and how it particularly focuses on black and Asian immigration, but it also had some personal case studies showing how individuals are affected - by being separated from spouses for seven years in one case, and being precipitated into a miscarriage in another. (We also used material about 'virginity tests' being performed on young Asian women at Heathrow and accounts from newspapers, such as that of a woman who was deported because the fiancee she had quite legally entered Britain to marry had died before the wedding.) These case studies were intended to fracture, in the same way as the simulation, the pupils' everyday 'knowledge' about immigration and to connect both with the human consequences of racialised control as well as our knowledge objectives about accurate statistics and some history of post-war immigration.

The interplay between these knowledge factors and the affective domain is, as before, best judged from what the pupils wrote.

> *Well, I think that this programme has showed me what it is like for them trying to get over here, all the questions they are asked etc., but I don't think it is right that, say, if a white immigrant comes here it is more easy for them to get into the country (Jane)..*

> *We learnt in today's lesson that if you are black you are not allowed into Britain. But if you are white and you want to come into Britain, you can. If blacks are not allowed in, no one else should be allowed in. White people who come in from Ireland etc. should not be allowed in as well because the country is becoming overcrowded (Linda).*

[The overcrowding point was taken up by the teacher in her reply in the Log]

It is not fair on black people who want to come into Britain to be refused or sent back, they have as much right as anyone else. ....In today's lesson we have been talking and learning about the amount of immigrants etc that were allowed into Britain in 1968, 1977, etc. I think that the way they are treated is or was completely for the immigration bureau's pleasure, especially the sexual examinations which had nothing at all to do with them anyway. If Britain would accept the fact that there were people who really wanted or needed to come to Britain to marry or work or stay with relations I think it would be better. There is no need to act like they do (Marianne).

In this lesson, it showed me how bad it is for a black person to get into the country. I don't think this is fair because the white immigrants get in all right, but because they are black, people probably think that they are going to cause trouble, and they are going to get picked on.... I have realised that Britain is taking in a lot of immigrants both white and black, but because of the black people's colour they are recognised much more than white immigrants. The census .... showed that there are just under 3,000,000 people who have entered our country, which is a surprising amount. Though there are about half of that leaving the country to live somewhere else (Karen).

From this lesson I found out that Britain's migration laws are easier for whites than blacks. Statistical evidence of this is that out of the immigrants coming to Britain only a third are black. The biggest problem for the black race is that the home office asks long

difficult questions and you have to prove you are who you say you are. Why don't they ask the same questions to white people, because they might not be who they say they are, and if there are more whites it's more likely to happen than in the black cases (Steven).

These reflections represent a considerable movement from the kinds the same pupils had been making weeks earlier. They have a less simplistic notion of 'immigrant' (partly gained through an affective engagement), a more realistic idea of numbers, and are perhaps on the way towards a more critical acceptance of media and political racial discourse.

The next section of the course was concerned with teaching something about ethnic minority group 'cultures' in Britain. Teaching about 'culture' is, in much of the literature discussed in chapter 6, seen as a preoccupation of the 'multicultural' approach, with which we were not in sympathy.

> Teaching about culture .... does not necessarily do anything to racist attitudes, since many pupils simply do not want to know or are applying (perhaps unconscious) filtering mechanisms. They do not listen to the distinctions between Sikhs and Muslims, Gujeratis and Bengalis, West Indians and Indians, because they are not interested; they do not want to know because the most important thing to them is that these people are not white, and the students believe that they are responsible for all the unemployment, bad housing etc. (Gaine: 1987, p.86).

Yet while we recognised that it would be naive to teach about black and Asian British 'cultures' as if there was no emotional content in the subject, we hoped that some of the previous work had changed the emotional content and diminished the idea that all Britain's ills could be laid at the door of 'immigrants', so

the pupils would be less negative. Even then, the question remained of just what it was we wanted to teach about:

> Even with an apparently homogeneous group, cultural generalisations are suspect. The generalisations people make about the British are generally recognised as simplistic stereotypes, unless we believe them ourselves. In such cases they are usually favourable, thus we are inventive, defenders of freedom, appropriately reserved, patriotic, and animal loving. We are not debilitatingly nostalgic, over-hierarchical, or jingoistic, though others think we are. What, then, can we legitimately say about Pakistanis? They are likely to be Muslims to be sure....[...] If we have to exercise caution when generalising about religion, when at least some basic precepts are written down and people formally agree to them, then all generalisations about a group's attitudes, abilities and tastes must be suspect. If one can say, however well meaningly, that Gujeratis have a good business sense, or that the Hong Kong Chinese 'make good restaurateurs', or that West Indians are 'easy going', one can by the same token say that the Irish really are thick, Jamaicans are lazy, Pakistanis are money grabbing, and of course the Jews are mean (Gaine, 1987: p.87).

So in practice we had to deal at first hand with the theorised differences between an anti-racist and a multicultural approach. For one thing, studying 'other cultures' in Britain is often trapped by a common-sense idea of reified, static and homogenous practices which are just *different, so any such study can appear simply preoccupied with clothing, food and festivals. Such an approach is asociological of course, treating both 'ethnic cultures' and the culture of Britain as fixed and* devoid of regional, religious, age, class and gendered differences. On the other hand, we had the problem of starting with our pupils'

starting point. We had a working assumption that it was necessary to go through a series of stereotypes in order to gain a more detailed knowledge of cultural differences between various groups of people, before then developing a more sophisticated understanding of intra-group differences and inter-group commonalities. We wanted pupils to know that Indian Panjabis were likely to be Sikhs, not to replace a crude all-embracing Asian stereotype with a series of discrete essentialisms, but to begin to replace the undifferentiated 'Paki' with some informed (and respectful) distinctions and comparisons.

For the most part pupils received this work positively and bore out our conviction that they were more likely to be interested in people they did not regard as a nuisance or a threat:

> *I think that so far this has been the most interesting piece of work we have done. I like to do work on the Asian people and find out how they live, what they wear and eat etc. (Lorraine)*

> *It's me again. The film which we saw was interesting and I think taught us quite a lot about the Sikhs, their way of life, religion, and why they came. I don't think I would like to be a Sikh girl and have my husband and marriage planned out for me. But saying that, if I was a Sikh girl I might feel different. The English might as well accept the fact that the Sikhs are here. That this is their home as well, because if they don't the racist problem is never going to end. I think if the Sikh people are going to live here they should learn to speak English, because when they talk in their languages out in the street the English people don't like it very much and this doesn't help the racist problem. Bye for now (Janice).*

It should be remembered that the teacher continues to interact

privately via the Log, in which Janice is clearly grappling with ideas which are both supportive and questioning of cultural maintenance. Marianne's, Karen's and Steven's comments which follow show both an empathy for the people they are discussing and accurate references to the beliefs of the group they belong to:

> *I think that the programme about Sikhs was interesting. The Sikh people who came over here to Britain both thought that Britain was a wonderful country, but when it came to actually moving here they found it very different. For example the nephew thought he would be able to keep his long hair and beard when in fact he could not. You could see the upset look on his face when his uncle cut his hair, he looked like he was in pain. The woman too, as soon as she arrived didn't expect to see so many white people. She looked totally disgusted with the white woman on the train who had the 'mini skirt' on. I wonder what she expected a British person to be like? (Marianne).*

> *In this lesson we have found out how different the religions really are. It surprised me to find out that they are so different. It is a shame that when they come to this country then most of them drop their religious beliefs, but I suppose that's the way it is.... From this lesson and TV programme, I have seen what the reactions really are for a Sikh coming to this country. It must be really hard for them to accept our country as it is, though we are now accepting them and their cultures. It's a shame that it has taken so long for things to be this way. Down the road to me, there are a full family of Sikhs and they live in two houses next door to each other and they also drive cars. The women still wear their long dresses etc. but the men wear suits and do not wear turbans. Really they have accepted our cultures by*

doing this, but also it isn't fair that they should give up these things when we do not accept any of their cultures. Sikhs or people from the these countries (the New Commonwealth, Pakistan) also find that they have very poor living conditions and not much furniture but they live with this because that is all they need, if they have to send money back to their families in their own country (Karen).

Not all people from Asia are the same, they have different languages, diets, religions, family life, which all goes to make up their culture, so why then do we treat all Asians the same and persecute them for what they wear and do? As it is their religion why should they give part of it up, it's like asking a Christian to give up Easter or Christmas, and so if we learnt and understood their cultures and didn't interfere perhaps people would get on together better in Britain instead of fighting and racialism (Steven).

Five weeks earlier all three of these pupils routinely recited stereotypes about undifferentiated 'Paki immigrants', so a surface feature of racism has certainly changed. Arguably they would have displayed a more complex sociological understanding of culture had we problematised the notion of British culture much more explicitly from the start - Marianne and Karen speak of it as apparently homogenous. I have indicated why we did not do so at the time, but in doing so we may have been more 'multicultural' than we thought.

The final part of the course was where pupils had some opportunity to synthesise and begin to build up a fuller understanding of racism, rather than simply have their own ideas challenged. The syllabus more or less prescribed the framework of Gordon Allport in examining 'Persecution and Prejudice'. This suggests that racial hostility is progressive, beginning with spoken dislike, moving into physical avoidance, then to acts of

discrimination, to physical attack and ending with systematic extermination. This is a descriptive framework not an explanatory one, it makes no essential reference to the origins or the maintaining factors of racism, but as a framework for pupils to locate their developing awareness it seemed to be quite effective.

The question we set was, in effect, 'How bad is racism in Britain?' and provided new videos, written material and survey suggestions in addition to what they had learned already. The majority concluded that the UK was somewhere between the stages of discrimination and physical attack, and backed this up with evidence appropriate for a beginning sociology course rather than with assertions or with appeals to emotion. A very small minority produced *interpretations* of the evidence arguing that racism is only practised by a few, that it was likely to get better, that perhaps too much was made of it, but it is significant that they had moved beyond the 'blame the victim' kind of arguments many had employed a few weeks earlier. Of course they were being assessed, but I would argue that the evidence of the Logs suggests they were not merely paying lip-service.

There were other things we could have done. We could have elaborated a more political analysis of racism linked to other inequalities, but were not convinced (nor am I still) that this complex sociological work can be done with beginners without being self-defeatingly simplistic. We could have given more of an assertive voice to Asian and black people themselves, since there was a danger in seeking to show the extent of racism that we presented them as helpless victims:

> Perhaps ....(naive and intrusive questions asked of Pakistani children).....are becoming things of the past, as teachers decide to tackle racism head on. We do not disagree with the sentiment, but we have strong reservations about the method. The danger is that

> ideas are presented to children that they may never before have entertained, either as victims or as persecutors. Often, violent, explicit stimulus material is used. A stereotype of the underprivileged 'Paki' is built up. It is possible that this stereotype will be accepted while the message is ignored. Also, it seems to us, from reports filtering back from children, that anti-racist programmes can be patronising, with the message: you must be kind to our poor brothers (Council for British Pakistanis: 1984).

Certainly some of the Logs suggest we may have fallen into this trap.

Overall, however, in the space of a term most pupils showed movement in the direction of being less hostile to black and Asian people, more sensitive to differences between south Asians, more accurate in their accounts of numbers and processes in housing and employment, more aware of the way discrimination and exclusion can operate, and more sceptical of stereotypical representations. The Logs demonstrate some of this and it was further demonstrated in their formally assessed work, which was on average slightly better in terms of GCE/CSE grades than their other subjects (though details of this evidence is not available).

As suggested earlier, a useful way of analysing this work is to see it as a negotiated course through teachers' dilemmas as conceptualised by Berlak and Berlak. The first four curriculum dilemmas intersect and defy any simple resolution. We had a conviction that the established canons of traditional knowledge failed in some ways to educate our pupils for the society they were growing into, and we wanted our work to be personally meaningful to pupils in their own social worlds, in terms of their own needs and recognising their affective engagement: the dilemma Berlak and Berlak call personal versus public knowledge. We wanted to arm pupils with a set of critical, social scientific

skills, yet we were not content to leave content to chance (skills versus content). We wanted to problematise 'facts' and 'knowledge' but we were also working with a notion of the 'truth' on which the pupils were assessed (knowledge as given versus knowledge as problematic). The fourth curriculum dilemma was one of our own, whether to appear detached from the issues or engaged in the struggle, to model a critical scepticism at the same time as moral commitment. It would be naive, of course, to expect a simple resolution of these dilemmas. When they arose in our classrooms they were the distillation of debates, conflicts and contradictions in education and the wider society.

There were three other dilemmmas. We recognised the social and group nature of learning racist and anti-racist ideas while simultaneously wanting to engage with individuals via the Logs (learning as social versus learning as individual), so lesson by lesson debates and arguments were taking place at both individual and group level as well as with yet more complex intersections with the dilemmas already mentioned. The final two were from the Berlaks' social dilemmas. We claimed not to regard 'youth' as discontinuous with adulthood, requiring a different kind of approach or an adult-child kind of relationship, yet we did have a belief that it was not too late for our pupils, that many were confused and misinformed about racism and that this could be changed in a way that was much more difficult for adults. Lastly, while at times in the course we sought to appreciate and understand varying and perhaps competing perspectives (about arranged marriages, or Rastas) we oscillated selectively between this and assuming and supporting a 'universal' set of values about acceptance, or justice (common culture vs sub-group consciousness).

Berlak and Berlak use the phrase 'patterns of resolution' in referring to broad tendencies in the ways individual teachers work within dilemmas. While some such patterns emerge in this account (for instance in a flexible but essentially teacher-directed pedagogy and content) what emerges most clearly is the

complex, intersecting sets of dilemmas which we faced and through which we negotiated anything but a straight course. Anti-racism here was not an end point or a destination, but a process of dialectical engagement with pedogogical, curriculum and social dilemmas.

Part Two: Policies and Whole school change

Introduction

The previous section was about bringing about change in classroom content and practice, for the most part where myself or other teachers had the will and the autonomy to attempt to do so. Bringing about change in the school as a whole, as indicated in the review in chapter 4, is more difficult and more complex, though I suggested that both the difficulty and the complexity can be summarised in seven propositions. School change

- takes time;
- needs pressure, ideally at several levels at once;
- involves risks and so creates anxiety, uncertainty and the need for support;
- requires deep and shared understanding of the change on the part of teachers involving a spiral of reflective learning;
- is helped or hindered by the climate and micropolitical features of the school;
- almost always needs the clear support of the head;
- can be nurtured and legitimated, or undermined, by key players outside the school.

I now want to examine some case studies of attempted change in largely white schools in peripheral/isolated areas and relate them to these propositions.

The significance of a policy

Most of these case studies dwell on getting a policy and the first concentrates upon that entirely, so it is worth first exploring the significance of a policy in terms of change. Fullan in general terms and many others with regard to 'race' (eg Troyna & Ball, 1985; Brandt, 1986; Richardson, 1992; Wright, 1992) have argued that producing a policy may amount to no change at all. Histories of educational change, as we saw in chapter 4, are replete with documents and statements of intent which are not played out in practice, though it can also be argued that no real change happens without one. The key distinction to be made is between a shift to a reasonably united stance with shared meanings about goals and values - which could, in principle, exist without anything on paper - and a document owned by no-one other than the writer/s - in which case pre-existing meanings and goals are likely to continue *despite* whatever is on paper. Both could go by the name of 'policy' but only the advent of the former could be counted as real change.

With the present ubiquity of Ofsted-induced 'school policies' on most aspects of school life, it is worth emphasising that the anti-racist policies discussed in this chapter were 'bottom up' attempts by which change-agents tried to give their concerns the formal prestige of official text. They saw formal (ie written) policies from the standpoint of potential usefulness, as tools *towards* change. Richardson argues:

> [a policy...] .. is a resource for advocates, in that it provides legitimacy for their concerns, that is, it gives them protection from certain criticisms and scepticisms, and it gives them a fuller and more rational hearing in debates and deliberations;
> it is an internal communication between different levels of power in the school, and may contribute to procedural, structural and cultural change....(1983: Conference speech).

or as Ball (1994) describes 'policy as text':

> Policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set (p.19).

Another criterion for judging formal policies is whether they entail a change in the distribution of resources (staff time as well as material resources), since arguably without such a change real priorities cannot be said to have altered.

A final reason for the emphasis upon policies is that after the period where a policy may be used in the ways Richardson suggests, after, even, it has resulted in the desired redistribution of resources, it provides a basis for evaluation and refinement. If there is no formal way in which a school's anti-racist intentions are expressed, there is no way of judging whether it is realising them.

Case studies

The first case study is of my attempts in my own school to achieve the adoption of an anti-racist policy. I partly saw this as necessary through my involvement with the local Council for Racial Equality (on whom I relied upon for support throughout the process). I also had some evidence of racist abuse directed at the small number of Asian pupils in the school and I knew that a small core of boys were members of the National Front or had some allegiance to the now defunct British Movement. They were not only evangelising among the other pupils they were doing so in an informational vacuum left by the school. The evangelising was not on a large scale and was fairly secretive, but this capitalised on the slight glamour these organisations already had as tough and violent, it gave affiliates a feeling of being one of the 'elect'. Through my teaching I was also aware of the

attitudes of many pupils:

> My starting point .... was that the majority of white pupils have considerable levels of confusion, misunderstanding and hostility about "race", and that it is the duty of schools to tackle this in all the ways open to them.... any policy ought to set out to deal both with the manifestations of racism against black pupils (and this can be an issue even when there is only one black pupil in the school), and with the contribution the curriculum and ethos of the school can make towards eroding pupils' racism and replacing it with something else (Gaine, 1987: p.123).

I was therefore convinced that the school needed 'a reasonably united stance with shared meanings about goals and values' and saw the adoption of a written policy as a vehicle towards this goal.

Being thus convinced of the nature of the problem I considered the decision-making processes in the school and went for the pressure points. There were some allies, staff who were concerned about the issue and welcomed a catalyst. There were regular staff meetings with a democratic agenda, but in practice action was more likely to follow from staff meeting discussion if the matter had first been discussed by, and perhaps been the subject of recommendations from, the meetings of two of the centres of power in the school: the Year Heads and the Heads of Department.

Accordingly, a file of National Front and British Movement literature was put together, not all of it taken from pupils in the school but all certainly available to them, and a special meeting was asked for with the Year Heads, (they met weekly for 30 minutes one lunchtime). My own position as a head of department and a likely future year head gave me enough credibility in terms of competence and experience to ask for and

gain a hearing, and there were two allies amongst the group of eight who were pressed in advance to attend and to be supportive in the meeting. None of the year heads had actually seen any far right material before, so both the content and the fact that it was circulating in the school shocked them.

The material sensitised some people to the crudest, most blatant forms of racism and led them to consider ways of dealing with it (confiscation and possibly suspension) relying if possible on the existing school ban against any political activity rather than to act explicitly against racism. The year heads were quick to say that the manifestations of racism which they, as links in the disciplinary/pastoral chain had to deal with, had their origins and proper solutions elsewhere, so they saw to it that the issue was raised at a staff meeting.

Half a dozen staff had been asked to state their concern if the opportunity arose in the staff meeting. They were all people who recognised that there was a problem, but were not necessarily those who always came to or spoke at staff meetings. They were asked to couch their comments in terms of asking for guidance from the head, rather than attacking him with demands that he should do something. They were also asked not to sit together in case they appeared as an identifiable group. The ensuing discussion revealed that some staff felt this was really nothing more than a general issue of politeness, and that pupils who did not open doors for staff were the same ones who called others names. Others saw the racial abuse as no worse than insults about height or spots. However, more staff than had been expected stated that they felt the issue demanded a specific response, to the extent that the head had to do something: he asked the head of departments' (HoDs) meeting to discuss overt racism among the pupils. In Gaine (1987) I described this process of lobbying and priming people before a meeting as 'undemocratic, even machiavellian'; it was of course, simply micropolitics.

In the subsequent HoD's meeting I (and others by this time) adopted the strategy of highlighting the impact of pupils' racism on the small number of black pupils, and on the white pupils themselves and the ethos of the school. This has some parallels with the classroom strategies described earlier. Pupils' complacency and common-sense understanding of what immigration control means was disrupted by evidence of what it meant in practice; staff assumptions of 'no problem here' beyond some mild prejudice were challenged by what they heard. The fact that many pupils strongly believed something so antithetical to liberal values was a useful lever on otherwise complacent staff. Each department head was asked to take back to their department four examples of racist incidents (all of which had occurred in the school in the previous few months, see note 3) and to come back with a departmental response to each one. As with the year heads, this was a process of allowing time for the issue to become subjectively meaningful to the staff, for shared understandings to develop.

Although two departments reported that they had never come across such incidents and that there was therefore not much of a problem, no one recommended inaction. There were some anxieties about 'blowing things up out of proportion' and about heavy-handed responses. The same kind of comments about the need for some response were received from some black people who had also been given the example incidents. A small group of three or four HoDs was set up to produce a policy document for formal endorsement. This began with the draft policy then being considered by the LEA, framed very largely in general and multicultural terms.[4] We argued that this was necessarily pitched at quite a general level and as a school we needed to be more specific, hence:

Suggested school policy statement.

1. Since we regard all students as being of equal value, racism must be opposed because it is diametrically opposed

to this belief.

2. Racism may be expressed in actual physical assault or threat; racial name calling, teasing or abuse; expressions of prejudice or misinformation about minority groups; or graffiti around the school premises.

3. Teachers have a responsibility to combat such racism in some way whenever it occurs.

4. Staff must be vigilant and report to the Head or Deputies any racist behaviour.

5. Racism = Prejudice + Power. Given the balance of numbers in this school it is not possible for whites to be the victims of racism. This does not give a free hand to black students to be offensive, but staff should be aware of the inequality.

6. The curriculum should reflect the fact that Britain is a multi-cultural society and will remain so. Where appropriate it should promote a respect for other cultures and educate against racism.

7. It is important that students involved in racist incidents nevertheless believe that they have an equal opportunity with other students to follow their studies.

8. Racist literature should be confiscated on the same basis as pornographic literature, both are offensive and degrading to sections of our school community.

9. We need to be clear that our opposition to racist practices in school is qualitatively different to our official impartiality on politics in general. It is inconsistent with our aims as a comprehensive school to be neutral about racism, and there times when we have to say so, though it may bring ill-informed criticism.

The draft won wide support. There was discussion about the wording, especially point 5, but by this time discussions were becoming fruitful largely because of the exchanges, alliances and insights which arose during the consultation and discussion stages. Ball's comments about key meetings seems apposite here:

> [They are]...characterised by grand rhetoric and purposeful idealism. Here the competing definitions of the innovation are in public contest. This is the arena of adoption where significant, but not necessarily binding, framing decisions are made.... The bold statement and personal stand may carry the day... Here the factions must show their strength of will, individuals must be willing to back up each other's arguments and to counter the arguments of the opposition. The success of prior caucusing or lobbying may bear fruit. The dramatic or directive leadership of particular individuals may become apparent (1987: p.39).

In the end, however, it did not become ratified as the school policy because of the anxieties of the head. Having been specifically recruited to alter the school's image as unconventional, he had been nervous all along about a policy in case the papers or the governors made something 'controversial' out of it. This made quite a contrast with the autonomy and support offered to me in curriculum terms, as described earlier, and underlines the last two propositions about the head's power and the need for formal legitimacy and support. I shall return to this issue of the head's effective veto later.

Broadly similar accounts are given by Massey (1987; 1988 - with Roberts; & 1991) and Roberts (1988 & 1993) about their two schools in Hampshire. In Massey's, although several key staff were supportive of some kind of policy development, it took months of meetings, visits to other schools and research by a working party to clarify the ideas and concepts they were dealing with and settle on the most effective strategy. They opted against in-service training (inset) for a core group on the basis of its limited likely effect. Focusing on extreme right literature was rejected because it did not reflect the views of many pupils in the school. Inviting an outside speaker or trainer was rejected on the grounds that no-one would carry

sufficient credibility to persuade enough staff without antagonising more: anything which looked like a full frontal attack was unlikely to work.

In the end they got the head's agreement for a half-day closure and two hours of inset time for the whole staff, which they planned scrupulously carefully, constructing cross-curricular groups with members of the working party in each, informed by transcripts of pupils' views and with opportunities for staff to voice anxieties and experiences. This produced a fair degree of consensus (and a statement by the head) that some action was needed. Over the succeeding months more in-service time was devoted to terminology, racist incidents, the curriculum and producing a policy, which was circulated before a staff meeting and printed in such a way as to allow for written comment on specific sections. The policy was still a discussion document at this time and there followed more months with some departmental in-service then another full day for all staff and some governors. A subsequent governors' meeting ratified a policy and set aside further development time and another full in-service day. By 1989 (four years after the initial working party was established) Massey was able to list curricular changes across the school, which was by then also holding participative workshops for parents (under a deliberately ambiguous title).

At Roberts' school there was a similarly long (a year) build-up of meetings, clarification of key ideas and planning, again focused on an inset day, though in his case it turned out to be ill-planned, over-ambitious and hence ineffective. It took another two years before the staff adopted an anti-racist statement, four months longer for the governors to do so, and six years after the developments began Roberts writes '..staff have become less hostile...' (1993: p.315).

Epstein's account of her broadly similar aims reveal some different emphases. Her work was in primary schools and in her three case studies she was formally recognised as the change

agent, in two as an advisory teacher for multicultural education under an ESG project, and in the other as the head teacher. Clearly the dynamics of primary schools are different from large comprehensives, but she employs many of Ball's ideas on micropolitics to reflect upon her experiences. Legitimation from outside the school, the slow building of alliances, working collaboratively with others, and responding to opposition all figure significantly, as do chance and luck in the timing of key events. (For instance, she notes how what she had thought of as the entirely uncontentious purchasing of black dolls turned out to be highly symbolically important for both her allies and opponents.)

Interestingly too, in the school where she was a head, for much of the build-up period towards some kind of policy she felt hamstrung by language and concepts. Most of her staff would not discuss 'racism' believing it to be of little relevance in a largely white school, so the draft policy was focused on the curriculum where staff could work in areas where they felt confident. The core activists, however, were unambiguous in seeing racism as the key issue, and used the LEA adviser to raise the issue at the meeting when the draft policy was up for discussion. The results accord very closely with the strategic decisions I made in my own school about what would make the biggest impression on colleagues:

> When teachers at Bankhead were asked, two years later, to reflect on what had made the most lasting impression on them, nearly all said it was the dawning realisation of what their black pupils had to endure... teachers were appalled at the amount of abuse uncovered in a short period amongst children from five upwards (p.63).

In her other case study a teacher gathered evidence of the black children's encounters with racism and presented them to a staff meeting. There was

> a somewhat stunned recognition that these pupils' experiences of schooling were, to say the least, not always positive (p.68).

Patterns and similarities

Returning to the factors identified in the opening propositions, then, I now want to relate them explicitly to the case studies.

The first, time, may be contingent upon some of the others such as the need for learning, but it is clear from these examples that nothing significant happens quickly. The developments described in my own school spanned about eight months, which the other studies suggest was far too short (especially compared with the six years in Roberts' case). Time is also demanded of the change agents. All the working parties and most of the inset mentioned in these accounts was voluntary and in addition to other commitments. This is especially so in respect of the thinking and work which went into the working parties mentioned by Massey and Roberts, though the point is echoed in accounts from Richardson (1985), Bagley (1992) and Klein (1993) and certainly from my experience of consultancy with many school working parties.

Pressure was applied in these case studies in markedly similar ways: sooner or later the issue which had to be faced was identified as racism. As a starting point this presents something of a problem, since to define the issue as racism and the school's task as responding to it could be seen as a negative and threatening educational challenge and hence not particularly motivating - not a productive way to apply pressure. It was pressure highly likely to produce anxiety (if not hostility), since engaging head-on with values is a high risk strategy. As I have argued in chapter 6, a 'multicultural' framing of the issues is generally perceived as more digestible in schools (see also Chivers (Ed), 1987; Tomlinson, 1990) but nevertheless my belief in my own school was that colleagues were unlikely to

embrace the positive elements in a new multicultural curriculum until they had recognised the racism in the old one, and the most effective way of showing the penetration of racism into their daily work was to show them the kinds of things their pupils thought and said. Put another way, I had to 'translate' the concept of racism into terms which made more immediate, personal, sense to them.

I was later to discover the disconcertingly slow pace with which multiracial schools had adopted multicultural or anti-racist policies, evidence which supports the view above. In 1984 the National Union of Teachers (NUT) reprinted for national reference some policies from London schools which were also circulated in many ILEA schools as useful starting points. These were among the first in the country to be produced. Content analysis of these policies reveals that they all began by stressing the existence and undesirability of racist attitudes and behaviour either in the pupils, or in the immediate locality, rather than in response to a positive curriculum opportunity.

Holloway's policy began 'Due to the increased electoral success of the National Front, Holloway staff ...(should)... make a special effort to combat the evils of racism'. It then detailed an NF leaflet which was found in the school, arguing that its discovery made it necessary to have a school policy. 'Racialism outside schools is becoming gradually more respectable and this development will inevitably have repercussions inside schools.' The rest of the document scarcely mentioned the curriculum, being couched in terms of reacting in a disciplinary and guidance sense to a threat, a threat to the black pupils in the school and to the assumed values of the school by the rejection of them by many white pupils.

The others were remarkably similar. Quinton Kynaston's began with an account of an Asian pupil having his throat cut by skinheads. The remainder of the document was, like Holloway's, almost entirely about the containment and reaction to expressions

of racism by pupils. Hurlingham began a letter to parents about its policy by saying 'Recently, in the community at large, there has been increasing pressure, particularly on young people, to adopt a racialist viewpoint and to express it wherever they happen to live or work.' North Westminster detailed the forms of racism encountered by its pupils. It briefly mentioned that it acknowledged and valued all pupils' cultures, and its first point was about different naming systems. The discussion then turned to physical attacks, intimidation, verbal abuse, racist literature, and racially exclusive behaviour. What was suggested for incorporation into the school's code of practice was a set of guidelines for dealing with racist incidents. Abbey Wood's said a good deal more about the curriculum and its role in combating racism, but it set the agenda initially as being a response to the 'racist incidents and expressions of racism that have occurred in and around the school', such as verbal abuse, physical attacks, distribution of racist publications, wearing NF and BM insignia, and graffiti. Mayfield argued the same way. Its policy statement began with the question 'Why the need for a policy statement?' and answered it by pointing to the frequency of racist incidents like name calling, graffiti, racist jokes, and the threatening and carrying out of violence (NUT, 1984).

I would conclude from this that the activists in these schools who drafted the policy statements either perceived the main imperative as dealing with the expressions of overt racism in the pupils, or decided that defining the imperative that way would be more persuasive and compelling to others. Having raised the issue this way all the above schools went on to reappraise their priorities in the curriculum, but this is not where they started.

In relation to the debate between anti-racist and multicultural/ celebrating diversity approaches this is really very striking: schools which had had diversity to celebrate for at least two decades had not, by the early 1980s, formulated any whole-school approach to doing so.

> If black schools have failed to respond in this way for the past twenty years or more, if they find that even with black children in their classrooms they can only now begin to get policies when these pupils are the victims of racist violence, it may be naive to think that a more positive approach will work elsewhere. If it took people having their throats cut by young fascists to enable anti-racist teachers to get multi-racial schools' policies through, one has to something of an optimist to expect a more far-sighted approach in white schools (Gaine, 1987: p.128).

In other words, in terms of pressure, the evidence suggested that the only effective kind elsewhere had been a kind of moral pressure, coupled perhaps with a fear of rising conflict and disruption. It is debateable, of course whether these London schools' policies should be seen as anything more than crisis management. They may have succeeded in defining the issue as racism, but I am not suggesting that in a short space of time they became 'real' policies in the sense I discussed earlier.

Returning to the 'white' schools, as well as using similar tactics to raise the issue of racism, the source of pressure in each case came from individual teachers. Though in Epstein's later two examples she was part of an LEA team the existence of which signified LEA commitment to change, albeit at a low level, the head in one of Epstein's schools invited her project team in, and in Massey's case it was the head who formally instituted development work, it was a concerned group of staff who raised it with him first.

Fullan (1991: pp.56 & 77) argues that the working lives of teachers, on the whole, makes them ineffective at innovating beyond their own classrooms, though he adds:

> Some teachers, depending on their personality and influenced by their previous experiences and stage of

> career, are more self-actualised and have a greater sense of efficacy, which leads them to take action and persist in the effort required to bring about successful implementation (p.77).

He also cites Little (1982) and Rozenholtz (1989) as suggesting that some schools (by selection, climate or both) contain a high proportion of change-orientated teachers. These schools may be such exceptions, since it is hard to avoid the conclusion that in these examples, at least, little would have happened without the commitment of key people. Roberts and Massey do not say so but in fact they were the prime movers in both their schools, as was I, and in the two ESG schools in which Epstein worked there were individuals (apart from herself) highly committed to anti-racism. In these cases we were fairly young, in senior positions and perceived as dynamic and effective, accustomed to success. (Though as a newcomer Epstein had to work alongside staff, not least the 'opposition', to establish her reputation: 'The credibility as a teacher is very important in initiating change' (p.61).) Other accounts suggest similar individual factors - 'hero innovators' - may have had a part to play in why particular schools at particular times took on this issue (Ruffhead, 1984; Supple: 1986).

On a pessimistic (or even cynical) note Fullan also makes the point that

> One of the main consequences of introducing innovations is career advancement for the sponsor and the subsequent failed implementation of the innovation (p.20).

The first point is well made in the cases of Roberts, Massey, Epstein and myself, all of whom have been published and promoted on the strength of 'pioneering' work, though it has to be said that extensive evaluation and follow-up suggests that Epstein's, Massey's and Roberts' work did not 'fail'. One could also argue

that career advancement also advances the issue, and that committed individuals thereby become better placed to initiate and disseminate change.

Risk, anxiety and uncertainty is endemic in any exploration of racism, though almost any major revision of teachers' work will create anxiety by going from the known and familiar in which they feel confident to the unfamiliar and the uncertain. Epstein sums this up for two of the teachers she worked with:

> What we were asking of Pam and Maureen was a considerable shift in terms of their classroom practice - and therefore their image of themselves as teachers - and their understandings of racism - and therefore their identities as white women. These shifts were difficult for them.... (p.69).

Massey, too, comments on hostile interruptions during an in-service session:

> Many of those who continually raised objections were senior staff in terms of age, experience or status within the school. The session was challenging... the assumptions and knowledge on which a substantial part of their personal and professional lives had been built (1991: p.137).

Marris (1975) counsels change agents not to see this as mere obstruction and to recognise the necessity in survival of what he calls 'dynamic conservatism': 'Once the anxieties of loss [are] understood, the tenacity of conservatism.... becomes clearer' (p.2). Beseiged racism, like Kenway's 'masculinity under seige' (see chapter 4) may be very unattractive to the change agent, but a frontal assault will not break the seige (see also Bagley, 1992).

Teachers engaged in change need **support**. For the working parties

this was generally mutual support, though it also came from legitimation from the head for Roberts and Massey, from outside individuals in Epstein's and my own cases, by reference to LEA policies or intentions in all cases, and by material support (LEA subsidy, inset funding) in some. For the rest of the staff, being 'pressured' to change by a minority, the need for support while they internalised and made sense of the changes was greater, and in successful cases seems to have been met by an understanding that they needed time and inset. This echoes Gross et al's evidence cited in chapter 4 about the need for staff to comprehend what the change means for them, how their teaching and other practices might change. The absence of this, they argue, can alienate even an initially positive staff.

It follows from much of the above that anti-racist change cannot, by definition, take place at a superficial level: fundamental learning has to take place resulting in **deep and shared understanding of the change on the part of teachers involving a spiral of reflective learning.** It also follows that this takes time, and this is borne out by all the accounts. Some attempted to move too fast (Roberts) and in my own case I am not at all sure that even had the development not been blocked by the head that it would have amounted to real change. In advice to other teachers I wrote:

> Some will see [multicultural education] as educating against prejudice in general, others as a matter of strangeness, so that pupils must mix with other cultures as much as possible, others will want to encourage pupils to feel sorry for 'the third world', and still others will want pupils to study 'primitive cultures and their contact with civilisation'.... One cannot wait for every member of staff to have an unambiguous understanding of racism, but one has to avoid steam-rollering and allow at least some colleagues to get hold of some new ideas and make them their own. There is no short cut to a more coherent

anti-racist stance (Gaine, 1987: p.138).

Frames of reference are not easily modified, and as I argued in chapter 5 are more effectively transformed within social processes and contexts. Massey's evaluations of their inset day *four years* after the whole process had begun revealed some enduring misunderstandings, feelings of lack of competence and requests for visits to other schools. Six years after its inception Roberts wrote that his working party 'has gained increasing respectability'.

The working party in the school featured in the BBC training film *Anglo Saxon Attitudes* (1983) had undoubtedly made some progress in its three year life, but the core of members' reasoning about why it would be unwise to move any faster was an anxiety about upsetting the rest of the staff, i.e. upsetting white people. I have previously commented on this as follows:

> This makes sense, of course, but it is also an example of how racist outcomes are embedded in the decisions we see as entirely reasonable. There is no answer to this except that white resistance is a real matter to be reckoned with; for those of us who sit in staffrooms and try to negotiate and press for change, the working party may be our best vehicle (Gaine: 1987; p.139).

The activists, too, were engaged in continuous cycle of learning, reappraising their own 'racial frames of reference'. Roberts attended an NUT racism awareness course in 1984, but he and Massey mention long periods for 'clarifying the concepts', and write that when their different working groups began

> ...most of those taking part had little understanding of what is meant by racist, multiculturalism, institutional racism, anti-racism or even policy (Roberts and Massey, 1993: p.304).

The scale of the necessary learning is signalled by the importance of language in the whole process. In Massey's school the working party was called the Multicultural Education Working Party on the insistence of the senior management. This reflected their own awareness, but despite this it turned out to be a tactically astute label, avoiding any alienation of other staff with unfamiliar 'radical' terminology. In Roberts' school the working party fell into this apparent trap, calling themselves the Racism Awareness Group:

> That the group perceived itself as tackling racism and the rest of the staff did not, caused a degree of friction and misunderstanding, but what was most significant about the group's identity was its sense of purpose. Holding on steadfastly to the word 'racism' meant that the group was able immediately to enter territory which dealt with slavery, colonisation, imperialism and racist language and behaviour. Had the group not at that time called itself RAG, then the field of discourse would have been narrowed considerably (1993: p.303).

So it worked for the group, while creating difficulties with the rest of the staff.

Written documents, guidelines and indeed 'final' policies are actually part of this process as much as end points, they are not fixed texts. Interaction with them is part of the reconstruction of racist frames of reference. The policy in Roberts' school was preceded by a discussion document for governors 'to put the school policy within a context'. The policy in my own school attempted, probably unwisely, to accelerate some of this work by defining some concepts within it. The 'final' policy in one of Epstein's schools shows a much deeper degree of shared understanding and ownership by the staff:

> It is important to adopt a whole school, cross-

> curricular approach to issues of inequality, seeking to move beyond a tolerance promoting, pluralist approach, to an equality promoting, anti-racist, anti-sexist approach which *requires us to examine our own attitudes and practices*. 'How' children learn is as important as 'what' they learn in determining their attitudes to themselves and to other groups in society... (1991: p.86, emphasis added).

This returns us to the way pressure was applied. A less challenging route for all concerned in seeking a solution to racism in these schools would have been a 'multicultural' one. Massey's head labelled it thus initially in the title of the working party; one of Roberts' colleagues asked "Why did the word 'racism' have to be used?" Epstein's first paper in her own school used 'multicultural' and '...did not deal with institutional racism or racist incidents at all since we felt that some staff would react badly...' (p.62). In my own case I used much less ambiguous language (the draft policy used 'racist' or 'racism' at least once in each of its nine clauses) and it still puzzles me why it was not challenged more. It may be that it was one of the schools which Fullan suggests has more of a climate of change, and it did have some self-consciously 'radical' credentials.

A consideration of **school climate and micropolitics** follows naturally here, though it barely needs expansion. To varying degrees all the accounts give credence to Ball's argument that schools can be characterised in terms of power and control (how were decisions made and did they stick?), goal diversity ('I just want to teach chemistry'), ideological disputation (anti-racism as extremism), conflict (non-compliance), interests (competition for inset time), and political activity (alliances, caucusing and lobbying). In practice, all the activists considered here used Lyseight-Jones' rule of thumb of identifying supporters, blockers, opinion leaders, don't knows, laggards and bandwagoners (1989). As Epstein says:

> ...school change is a complicated process, requiring not only the active agency of some (influential) members of staff but also the management of both active and passive opposition (Epstein: 1993; p.57).

In relation to some of Ball's speculations about micropolitics (1987: p.21) and my earlier point about moral pressure as a force for change as well as Fullan's about what happens to prime movers, I have some tentative conclusions. The innovators discussed here were engaged in relatively skilled 'political' action with a long-term perspective, according to personal beliefs and principles, being primarily concerned with matters of commitment and belief. Advancement there may have been, but it was hardly predictable at the outset, as witnessed by the media onslaught detailed in chapter 6 and by my account in the introductory chapter of my first attempt to introduce anti-racist change into a school: I was disciplined. So these were unusual changes.

Perhaps, after all, the most significant conclusion may be that the schools were not typical (hence their success) and thus it is unsafe to generalise too much from them. They were all far ahead of their time with regard to 'race', in advance of Swann and other legitimating events, partly through the presence of individuals who acted as catalysts but partly, perhaps, for all kinds of reasons, some schools are more receptive to change. (Roberts' school, too, had a reputation as being generally innovative.) It is worth recalling the scale and bitterness of the reactions Ruddock reports about anti-sexist initiatives, which in some cases were only resolved by staff leaving. It may well be that in other schools the same individuals would have been beaten into demoralised quiescence or that had we been probationers, or simply younger, or female, we may have been ignored.

This brings us to the next of the factors listed at the beginning of this section: the support - or at least lack of outright

opposition - from the head. Again, most of what needs to be said is self-evident. Schools differ in their receptivity to innovation and clearly, if schools have an 'open' kind of climate it must be largely due to the head allowing (or not preventing) it. In all these schools the heads were not centrally involved and could have stopped the initiative at an early stage, frustrated its need for inset and development time, or balked at its presentation to parents and governors. In both Massey's and Roberts' accounts their heads appear as supportive and not intrusive, facilitative of innovation, in Ball's typology they were either 'interpersonal' or 'managerial'. Epstein describes one head in similar terms, another as needing careful persuasion and the third as conveniently uninvolved because he was new. My own was in transition from 'managerial' towards 'political'.

Much is often disparagingly said of committees and working parties ('a committee is a cul-de-sac down which ideas are lured and then quietly strangled', quoted by Ball, 1987: p.243) and of course it is possible that that is what the heads in these cases (certainly my own) expected in channelling anti-racist development that way. Yet clearly the working parties which were established in these examples were not 'exercises in marginalisation' (Lyseight-Jones, 1989: p.42) and comprised key staff from different parts of the school. They could not have gone on to have the influence they eventually had without the head's consent.

Finally, it is important to note the effects of external forces, key players outside the school. None of the changes described here were going on in an educational vacuum, either locally (as in my head's anxiety about controversy or all the examples' use of local policy as legitimation) or nationally (the press's gleeful mythmaking about Brent and the ILEA). As the 1980s moved on, all had to negotiate the contradictory discourses about promoting racial equality explored in chapter 6. In the early 1980s national pressures did little to impede their developments and most used Swann for support, but Epstein notes that when

evaluating one school two years after the initial work (and one year after the ERA) all the head wanted to discuss was LMS. Roberts' and Massey's schools are both in an LEA that has continued to support their work (indeed Massey is, at the time of writing, the LEA's Intercultural Inspector) but all have had to deal with the National Curriculum's scant attention to racial equality. (In my own former school the National Curriculum brought about the closure of the sociology department and the end of the classroom work described earlier.)

Conclusions

In some respects what emerges from this analysis is that anti-racist change in 'white' schools is like any other change and subject to very similar forces, certainly it is just as difficult. As it happens, it has been subject to an increasingly explicit countervailing discourse during the last decade, as well as periodically enjoying support, but it is not unusual in that.

What marks it out as different, in my view, emerges from just one part of the analysis here and in chapter 4, the discussion about how pressure is applied and hence the location of the change. In white areas anti-racist change has to be primarily personal and cultural, in the end it has to be *moral* change. I am not sure that Lyseight-Jones is right to say that anti-racism brings us 'into arenas which are seldom entered in school life' (1989: p.38) since values are clearly involved in changes about ability grouping, PSE and assessment, to name but three. The real difference is here is that it is *only* a moral change, to be truly effective it needs to be carried out in the knowledge that it may not materially affect anyone in the school whilst aiming to have a moral effect on many, including the staff.

Footnotes

1. The JMB course outline for this section was as follows:

   Persecution and prejudice The study of persecution and

prejudice should provide the pupil with some insight into the ubiquitous nature of this field of human behaviour on personal, national and international levels. This theme is more concerned with the recognition of persecution and prejudice than with the prospects of changing attitudes, although it is expected that logical, reasoned arguments would weigh more than unsupported, one-sided opinions of whatever standpoint, in the assessment of students' work.

a) *The universality of prejudice*: 'Man's inhumanity to man Makes countless thousands mourn.' Xenophobia, segregation, scapegoatism, victimisation, ostracism, bigotry, endogamy, paranoia, stereotyping, snobbery, elitism, etc.
b) *The techniques of persecution*: Anti-locution; Avoidance; Discrimination; Physical Attack; Massacre/Genocide. Students should be expected to demonstrate an understanding of this sliding scale of persecution, in part or in total, and to appreciate how one step on it provides a threshold for the next.
c) *The study of at least one major area of persecution or prejudiced behaviour at home or abroad* e.g. at least one of the following in the contemporary world or from the recent past: racial; political; religious; social.

2. Unfortunately, it would be difficult to analyse this work systematically with regard to gender since most of the teaching groups were girls - because of the mediating factors on their 'choices' mentioned earlier. The boys, for the same reasons, were far from being a random sample. My feeling, echoed by Naidoo (1992), was always that girls identified more easily with others' oppression, either because they experienced it as girls and/or because their socialisation better equipped them to articulate emotions.

3. The four examples were:

a) A black pupil comes into your classroom with a message, and someone makes an audible offensive remark like "get back to your tree" or "bloody Pakis", or mutters "National Front, National Front".

b) A swastika and the words "BM, fight for a white Britain" are written on a desk. It's fairly easily cleaned off and you can identify the culprit. Do you leave it at that?

c) In a class discussion about jobs (or discos, or school buses, or anything), perhaps in tutor time, a girl uses "Paki" in the common way, as a descriptive term. Another boy uses "nigger" in apparently the same way.

d) There is almost a fight between a black boy and a white boy. On investigating it you find the white boy called the black boy a "jungle bunny" because the black boy had first called him "honky". Fair enough? Leave it at that?

4. Educational commitment within a multi-cultural society.

Wiltshire County Council recognises the cultural, ethnic and religious diversity of contemporary British society. Therefore, it affirms its commitment to an education which acknowledges the particular needs arising from such a society and will endeavour to make provision to the best of its resources. The committee therefore accepts the following objectives within its general policy:

1) To educate pupils and teachers towards an understanding of, and respect for, one another's cultural, ethnic and religious differences.
2) Within its many different educational activities, to draw upon, encourage and support the cultural heritage of the communities within our society.
3) To take positive steps to promote equality of opportunity and harmony and to combat discriminatory practices.
4) To endeavour to meet the particular needs of all children within its schools, having regard to their diverse cultural backgrounds.

Chapter 8

Goodbye to all that? Local Education Authorities and Anti-Racism

Between about 1981 and 1988/9 local education authorities (LEAs) were increasingly active in many of the key attempts at change-making with regard to racism in education: resourcing curriculum development, formulating and promoting policies and guidance documents, providing in-service training and employing specialist staff. Since the passing of the Education Reform Act in 1988 their advice role changed to inspection and was then reduced by a further Act which established Ofsted; their ability to promote policy has been diminished in proportion to the delegation of funds to schools, as has their employment of specialist staff centrally, the priorities for in-service work are set by the schools largely in response to the National Curriculum, in the confines of which any development work has to take place. They have lost control of polytechnics, colleges of higher education, further education colleges, and whatever proportion of their schools have become grant maintained. At the time of writing they are grappling with labyrinthine funding formulae which seem to be designed to maintain the differential between LEA and GMS schools, and the complete demise of some is imminent due to the creation of 'single tier' district councils.

Given the surge in their intervention and support for 'race'-related work, followed by the great reduction in their power and influence, I want to assess the roots and causes of their interventions and the effect they have had.

Policies as a focus for dispute

An academic and long time commentator on 'race' and education, Barry Troyna, wondered in 1983 if policies were worth the paper they were written on, arguing later that newer, self-styled anti-

racist policies were muddled, theoretically weak 'on the whole, pretentious, offering more than then can deliver' (1992: p.86).

In attempting to rescind Berkshire's 'Education for Racial Equality' policy in 1985, a senior member of the newly elected hostile Conservatives said '[A] change of name was significant. The old name suggested an aggressive propaganda campaign designed to brainwash people into changing their thinking. It assumed that Berkshire people are basically racist and antagonistic towards ethnic minorities, and that it is part of the job of education to convert them away from this' (quoted by Richardson, 1992: p.144).

Richardson, both an activist and an LEA official, has consistently argued that a policy can be 'a resource for advocates in individual schools and communities, for it provides legitimacy for their concerns: that is, it gives them protection from certain criticisms and scepticisms, and it gives them a fuller and more rational hearing in debates and deliberations' (1983).

Another LEA official, this time in Bradford, claimed '... we can cope with Moslem demands. We have trained people to shout, provided they shout acceptable slogans. Halal meat, mother tongue teaching. The issues where we can deliver' (quoted by Selbourne, 1984).

These four quotations are indicative of the fact that LEA 'policies' have probably been the subject of more controversy, both political and academic, than any other aspect of 'race-related' work in education. It was LEAs which were turned into folk devils by the political Right, to which campaigns by anti-racist activists were addressed, and whose work was scrutinised by academics for signs of being exercises in containment, obfuscation, or tokenism.

This is not surprising since LEAs are the closest and apparently

most accessible part of the state, and they have (or had) some autonomy. They have been seen as key parts of the state which can be 'captured' or influenced by activists, and this perception may be held both by activists themselves and by central government. They had apparent jurisdiction over large numbers of schools and the apparent power, if they so chose, to commit hundreds of thousands of pounds to 'race'. They thus represented hope to some and a considerable threat to others, important enough for prolonged contestation over what their 'policies' actually said, over their rhetorical and symbolic meaning. In practice, the debates discussed in chapter 6 were more symbolically important in LEAs than anywhere else.

Thus in writing this chapter I have found myself more conscious of terminology and definition than in any other. A phrase like 'race-related policy', though clumsy, seemed at first like a suitable catch-all for the main objects of the chapter, but it fails to distinguish, for instance, between documents which are merely statements of intent and those which commit resources, or between policies claiming to take an anti-racist stance and the others. In referring to a policy as 'anti-racist', am I asserting that it actually had that effect? I have not adopted a consistent 'solution', because the ambiguities run throughout the history I am trying to present, but I shall define a policy as doing two things:

a) conferring legitimacy on a particular stance, articulating a set of values which can inform or underpin practice (though this may be ambiguous, different people may read the stance differently);

b) allocating resources (money, staffing, etc).

Also, roughly speaking, I shall take 1982 as the beginning of policies *claiming* to be anti-racist, while recognising the risks of such claims.

Emergent anti-racism: producing the initial change

Although I suggested above the early 1980s as a time when LEA activity on this issue increased, urban, multiracial LEAs had been active earlier in response to pressure from schools and communities (Mullard, 1983; Troyna & Ball, 1985), but the period of the early 1980s is significant as the time when policies became explicit and (by 1983) racism formally became at least part of the focus, i.e. it was at this time that, for some, the paradigm shift from multicultural to anti-racist occurred. This echoes my point in the previous chapter that it took more than simply the presence and experiences of black and Asian people in schools to produce anti-racist action. Their presence was a necessary but not a sufficient condition, which up to the end of the 1970s had produced the mixtures of assimilationist and multicultural practices discussed in chapter 6 (inexplicit policies, no doubt, as argued in *Doing Good by Doing Little* (Kirp, 1979) but some formal ones too, e.g. the ILEA in 1977 and Manchester in 1980). Responses to racism were more piecemeal.

By the mid-1980s it was urban LEAs who were producing the most detailed and well resourced responses claiming to address racism, with related formal policies. These emerged because the LEAs were *under* pressure - from the 'riots' of 1980 and 1981, from black and Asian voters, from evidence of black underachievement, increasing demands for mother-tongue support, from activist pressure groups, anti-racist initiatives in individual schools and from official sources such as the Rampton Report (DES, 1981), Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act - so they in turn *exerted* pressure. London authorities were the best known, with some justice, aided by the very wide national circulation of the ILEA's five *Race, Sex and Class* (1983) booklets, four of which were about 'race'. Brent and Haringey were also well-known, but very often through myth rather than actuality (see chapter 6). By the beginning of 1985 every metropolitan LEA had a 'race' policy, including Conservative Bradford and Birmingham, though only the ILEA's had 'anti-racist' in the title.

This is not a model of LEAs as simple stimulus-response mechanisms (Ben-Tovim et al, 1986): they were sites of struggle. The recognition of the issue and the form of the LEA response were subject to definition and channelling inside the LEA's formal and informal structures, as well as the national context. In some cases particular advisers were influential with the chief education officer (CEO), informal or party links existed between officials and elected members, different CEOs had different degrees of autonomy from their education committees. Mullard (1983) looked at the authorship of policies, finding that of the 36 policies which existed in October 1983, CEOs had formulated eighteen, multicultural education advisers three, working parties thirteen, and elected member sub-committees two. He also found that several 'policies' were actually 'position statements' establishing priorities of resources and intention, produced by officers to formalise and record *de facto* policy without running the risk of it being stopped by councillors.[1]

Pressure aside, the spending implications of a formal policy or a position statement were easier for urban LEAs, since they were spending on 'race' anyway and could relatively easily increase it via Section XI. In terms of specialist posts, for instance, several LEAS had advisers in multicultural education by 1980, as well as dozens (hundreds in the cases of the ILEA and Birmingham) of other staff on Section XI contracts. Mullard also suggests that metropolitan authorities were in general more responsive to national trends and redirections in education than other LEAs.

In white areas, meanwhile, the pace of recognition of the issue and adoption of policies was understandably slower. Troyna and Ball (1985) found virtual indifference in peripheral schools in their northern 'Milltown' (p.11) though Keel (in Chivers, 1987) reports that Newcastle offered an 'awareness' course for one teacher from every school in 1984 (see *Multicultural Teaching* Volume 4 No. 3, (1986), Bonnett (undated) and Patel (1995) for more on Tyneside). Berkshire is generally considered an exception to this (and indeed to the pattern described above)

since it actually passed its policy (for 'Racial Equality') in December 1982. However, while it is a 'shire' county, 10% of its pupils in 1982 were from ethnic minorities, and their communities were mostly concentrated in Reading and Slough and thereby able to make an electoral 'noise'. Berkshire is also a prime example of how the mesopolitics[1] of an LEA can effect outcomes. Key roles as 'policy entrepreneurs' (Young & Connelly, 1981) were played by its multicultural adviser, the CEO, a black councillor in Reading, together with a handful of liberals and independents on the 'hung' council to produce the first explicitly anti-racist LEA policy in the country (Gaine, 1987; Richardson, personal communication).

A similar but (in the end) less successful strategy was also being attempted in Wiltshire, beginning in 1981. There was no substantial black or Asian population in the county but through the work of activists in Wiltshire's only Labour council Swindon already had a Council for Racial Equality (CRE) with an education officer on its staff, serving a more 'white' area than any other in the country. An advisery group was established with the LEA (comprising the CRE officer, the head of the town's only multiracial infants' school, an adviser, an officer and myself - nominated by the CRE). Meetings and small conferences were set up, statistics gathered, some senior advisers and officers became interested, an advisery teacher and two Section XI staff appointed and by 1982 a draft policy was put to the Education Committee. Its preamble (cited as a footnote in the previous chapter) was clearly in the 'multicultural' tradition with several references to the 'needs of immigrants'. It quoted the DES, neighbouring LEAs (Avon and Berkshire), mentioned mother tongue teaching, stressed cultural diversity, interdependence and (once) discriminatory practices. As luck would have it and to the surprise of the CEO, it was rejected by the Committee because of some unresolved undercurrents between elected members from a previous item (Gaine, 1987: pp.146-150).

I developed from this a twelve point strategy for achieving

change at LEA level in white areas, involving: a core group of strategists and at some stage a formally constituted group; a planned and realistic timetable of action; consulting black and Asian groups; day conferences and meetings to involve PTAs, governors, teacher unions and potentially sympathetic councillors; strategic decisions about who to involve, marginalise or ignore (like the Trades Council and the Rotary Club); inset for teachers; gaining officers' and advisers' support; informed lobbying of Committee members; careful focusing on 'accessible' concerns, like mother tongue support or overt racism (Gaine, 1987: pp.151-7).

With written change at LEA level as the clear target, the strategy exhibits considerable emphasis on several of the key prerequisites for initiating meaningful change identified in chapter 4. Pressure from as many sources as possible was clearly a major theme, as was providing opportunities for people to learn about the need for change, as was a considerable degree of politicking:

> At this stage people have to be clear about how much they value 'democracy' as sometimes defined. I do not suggest [meetings and conferences] as being necessarily to consult 'appropriate' groups. The only groups which have to be involved are black groups, since the goal of any county policy is presumably about defending and promoting their interests. The rest is pragmatism. Who might be powerful opposition? Can she/he/they be won over? If not, can they be ignored or controlled by a more powerful group? If the PTAs are likely to cut up rough and keep to the safe ground of fund-raising and 'maintaining standards' then let them. If some PTAs appear to be supportive (and hence useful parental ammunition) involve them. If individual school governors are likely to be sympathetic make sure they attend by issuing individual invitations; if they are not then

> do not invite them.... Thus this initial process is not about democracy, it is about getting a power base. If we aim to convince the majority of constituents before we get a decision out of education committee we will have a very long struggle.... It is not the job of a pressure group to be democratic, in the usual sense of representing or consulting everyone, including minorities. A pressure group has to put the case for a particular interest, if necessary in conflict with or to the exclusion of other interests - white middle class PTAs for example. A fairly basic tenet of those concerned with anti-racist work in education is that the distribution of resources (money, teachers' time, textbook interests, legitimacy) is inequitable, that is, it serves one set of interests rather than another. That being the case it does not seem like sound strategy to painstakingly consult those who are structurally inclined to oppose you (Gaine, 1987: p.153).

Mould (1987) recounts parallel developments in the north east, beginning in 1981/2, again with a very active role played by the local CRE, resulting in all five LEAs adopting policies by late in 1984. According to Keel (1987) the prime movers in Newcastle itself were the members of NAME, a primae facie case of what Ben-Tovim (1986) calls 'planned political struggle'. On the role of such groups of advocates in 'Easttown', Ball (1986) comments

> The involvement of a number of different groups [local CRE, NUT and Indian Workers' Association] in waging campaigns concealed the fact that there was only a small group of activists, most of whom were teachers... (p.14).

What was missing in the early 1980s was legitimation at national level, though HMI and the DES had made low-key interventions (DES, 1981; HMI, 1983). This changed in March 1985 with the

publication of the Swann Report and the attention it gave to white areas. I shall return to its other effects later, but in the words of one advisory teacher:

> In my authority I feel that much of our work would have progressed without any Swann report. What Swann has done in my opinion, however, is to give a good housekeeping seal of approval to the initiatives undertaken by many individuals and some local authorities... (Mould, 1987: p.51)

Another fairly rapid effect was the adoption of policies or position statements in shire LEAs, of which almost 60% had one by the time the above 'advice for activists' was published.

Why policies?

Mullard et al (1983) argue from a study of 36 LEA policies that whatever the genesis of 'race' policy documents and their official rationale, at that time they were actually used by LEAs in four different ways. The first of these they call *procedural-informative* utility, a bureaucratic perception that the LEA should inform educators of their broad legal duty and of any key report, but that they should not spell out specific practices as either desirable or undesirable (especially if to do so would impose on school autonomy).

The second use they call *corroborative-legitimating* utility, where a policy statement was used by the LEA to pat themselves on the back, affirming that new reports or laws simply support what they were doing all along. This use of policy tended not to identify LEA practices which needed changing.

Scarman's report (and thus the uprisings which occasioned it) was the spur for the third need/use of an LEA 'race' policy: *reactive-corrective*. Here concern was focused on the threat to public order presented by 'race' in the early 1980s, and

education's role in reacting to it or correcting it.

The last utilisation is called *innovative-problematising*. The authorities which adopted this approach 'appeared to be conscious of the opportunity open to them to set standards only by their own example of attempting to develop an adequate conception and practice in the field of multicultural education' (p.10).

This latter utilisation would clearly have been the only one likely to impinge on the status quo in largely white LEAs. Despite the tactical preoccupation evident in my own quotation above, suggesting policies as a target, their real usefulness could not be as an end in themselves but as a launching pad for change, conferring legitimacy and allocating resources. As Berkshire's policy itself said

> ....these policy statements and the practical initiatives which flow from them are intended to promote and effect changes in routine school practices and procedures. What is more, they are designed to implicate all schools in a process of reappraisal and change (Berkshire LEA, 1983).

Berkshire's policy at least succeeded in raising black and Asian people's expectations. In 1987 part of the selection process for a new multicultural adviser was boycotted by ethnic minority organisations, and the previous week the interview for a council-wide race relations adviser was met by a demonstration. The outgoing adviser had written in 1983:

> a policy statement is a petard by which an LEA consciously and publicly seeks to be hoisted; a deliberate, calculated hostage to fortune... (Richardson, 1983: p.4).

Ball (1986) and Troyna and Williams (1986) argue that many LEAs used policies in Mullard's first three senses, though as I

discuss in chapter 6 in my view they pay insufficient attention to the limits of local politics. (For instance, after Ball's acknowledgement that 'in Eastshire, the need to develop proposals which would be acceptable to the Conservative councillors imposed a clear constraint upon policy formation...' (p.39) - which was taking place in any case in the opportunity presented by an untypically 'hung' council - she suggests that the policy should have adequately conceptualised the political nature of racism.) Given these limits and the mesopolitics within the LEA offices, it has to be recognised that what can be read as corroborative-legitimating can also be used by someone else as innovative-problematising. Troyna (1992) also recognises that discursive themes can become what Edelman (1964) called 'condensation symbols', woolly reassuring metaphors to convince supporters in local political struggles that their interests are being served, but seems to believe it could be otherwise. I am not amongst Troyna's critics who 'are impatient with textual analysis of policy documents' (1992: p.81), but I would argue that not to recognise that they *need* ambiguity is to ignore something crucial about their purpose and their environment.

Did they work?

They certainly met opposition:

> ...there is a book yet to be written on how, if at all, the policies will shift the unwilling and downright hostile elements in the education service - and this usually means heads. The national press tells us gleefully that recalcitrant heads in Bradford are taking early retirement rather than attend RAT courses; there are heads in Berkshire and the ILEA who have sent the briefest of formal replies to their authorities' requirement for a school response to their policy, and who boast of the fact (Gaine, 1987: p.158).

Indeed, in one northern authority, 20% of heads did not reply to the CEO's deadlined request for comments and of those who did a further 20% were openly antagonistic (Chivers, 1987: p.49). Again, Troyna and Ball (1985) are widely cited as evidence that LEA policies were substitutes for action:

> ...it seems to us that LEAs, in general, have failed to consider the complex processes of curriculum innovation and have expected their policies and initiatives, *per se*, to function as change-agents (1985: p.54).

It has to be said, however, that most of their data was gathered before the publication of Swann in 1985. From that time on the effect of policies cannot be separated from the effect of concurrent changes. Swann not only provided the impetus for policies in white areas but for more specialised advisory appointments and central funding for curriculum development through staffed projects and in-service courses, as mentioned briefly in chapter 6. It is perhaps ironic that the reasons given in the 1970s and early 1980s by LEAs for non-intervention - identified by Allcott (1992) as finance and school autonomy - were both undermined in a way supportive to anti-racism by developments encouraged and largely funded by central government, which then moved to bypass LEAs completely, reduce schools' autonomy, and remove the supportive climate for 'race' related work.

The appointment of advisers or inspectors and officers in largely white LEAs was formally recommended by Swann, and widely taken up, frequently overlapping with the adoption of policies (by the majority of English LEAs by 1989). In some LEAs, such as Hampshire and Hertfordshire, advisers were appointed when the policy was in a draft form and their first task was to finalise it. Some of these appointments could be seen as tokenistic gestures and exercises in containment, and certainly the advisers in shire counties had an impossible cross-phase, cross-subject

brief compared to many of their more specialised colleagues, as well as often being additionally responsible for whatever ESL and Section X1 work was done in the county. However, though it is difficult to evaluate their effect it would be hard to argue that they had none at all. They were at least symbolic of some kind of understanding that there was an educational issue to address and hence represent a degree of institutional change, since their appointment would have been inconceivable in the 1970s.

The staffed projects were funded under the Education Support Grants (ESG) scheme 'Educational Needs in a Multi-ethnic Society', in which LEAs received 70% of the salaries for schemes, which could last up to five years. Central funding signified it was central policy (at least when the scheme began in 1986), its varying implementation was the responsibility of the LEAs who were awarded the money. At this early stage the distinction between ESG and Section X1 funding was not clear to many LEAs and many early bids were not successful. Those which were successful dealt mainly with multiracial areas or multiracial schools: the focus was still on black and Asian children. By later in 1986, however, the message of Swann had penetrated more clearly, and HMIs were concerned to encourage 'white' LEAs to make ESG bids. By 1988 almost all English LEAs had mounted an ESG project (119 in all) in this field, lasting from between one to five years, the majority being focused on white areas. The last ones 'expired' in 1993.

They all had very careful titles, emphasising racial harmony, Britain's multicultural society, enhancing awareness, education for all. None had racism or anti-racism in the title, indicative of sensitivity to potential local reaction as well as to DES preferences: rumour had it that from 1986 onwards any application for central funds (ESG or Section XI) which included the words 'racism' or 'anti-racism' would automatically fail (indeed I remember an HMI quietly saying so). The titles, therefore, do not reveal the orientations of the project workers or of the LEA staff who parented the projects: they needed the same ambiguity

as policy documents.

Tomlinson and Coulson (1988 & 1990) surveyed 23 of the projects which particularly focused on white areas, visiting their sample projects and compiling questionnaire data. They found that the working strategies of the projects varied widely. Some were not in schools at all, being sited instead in FE colleges, careers or library services. Those which were school-focused sometimes had a huge brief of working in any schools which requested them, some (like Avon and Derbyshire) sent teams into schools for periods of a week or more; while others had a pyramid of secondary and primary schools, and others had a more manageable group of self-selected schools, sometimes all in one phase. Some had evolved detailed strategies of working alongside teachers for long periods, supporting them with resources, debate and time.

Evaluation of the effect of these projects is problematic. The DES required less of them in this respect than of some other prioritised areas, and made no attempt, apart from an HMI conference in 1988, to disseminate their work. The separate LEA projects were only ever linked with each other in a very ad hoc way, and never by DES or HMI design. The NAME conference in 1987 organised an initial meeting (Gaine and Pearce, 1988) which developed into a more formal network with a newsletter and a series of national meetings in 1987, 1988 and 1989. After this initial contact between projects was brought about by NAME it was maintained by the workers themselves.

At least two formal evaluations of projects were conducted by the ESG workers (Epstein, 1991 unpublished - also partly in Epstein, 1993; and Patel, 1995). In an NFER study undertaken in 1991, Taylor found that many of her adviser respondents reported that these projects had had considerable beneficial effect.

It is reasonable to believe that the projects made some lasting changes. Tomlinson (1990) estimates that 4,000 teachers have been directly involved with them, and that many of these did not

see their involvement and own development as temporary, citing effects upon pupils, parents, teachers, heads, and LEA officers, more of them positive than negative. Epstein's more localised study claims significant changes in practice in the Project schools (as described in the previous chapter). Publications have also emerged: practical handbooks for teachers from Wiltshire (White, 1988); Cumbria (Brown et al 1990); Birmingham (Epstein and Sealey, 1990); Warwickshire (Farrell, 1991); Northamptonshire (Thorp, 1992) and Hampshire (Hix, 1992) and more reflective books from Dorset (Naidoo, 1992), Hampshire (Massey, 1990) and Birmingham (Epstein, 1993); articles from Warwickshire (Sharma, 1987); Hampshire (Massey, 1987); Cumbria (Brown, 1988) and Leicestershire (Chauhan, 1988). In some authorities (like Warwickshire) the claim is made that the philosophy and the funding have been effectively 'mainstreamed', so that the pump-priming purpose of the grants scheme has been realised. In other authorities (like Hampshire) the stocking of a resources centre continues to provide material assistance to teachers after the funding for staff ended. Other effects, if there are any, will be in the realm of what I earlier described as 'moral' changes: subtle shifts in teachers' perceptions and attitudes.

'Education for ethnic diversity' was removed from the list of priority areas for ESG grants in 1988. It was replaced by the National Curriculum, but it is too simple to suggest that this was a straightforward development of priorities: as I have discussed in chapter 6, it was also indicative of an ideological shift at the centre of the Conservative Party. It cannot be assumed that the ESGs demonstrated particular local commitment - the bulk of the funds, after all, came from the Centre, and most of the shire counties which applied for ESG grants were Conservative controlled - but it may be that the commitment, such as it was, would have lasted longer if left to the shire Tories who ran education, several of whom have openly criticised the rise of the Right at the Centre.

Another specific 'white areas' development born of Swann was the

prioritising of 'multicultural issues' in DES Circular 1/86, which again provided central funds for development work in white areas, this time for 20-day courses for teachers (although in speaking at several of these courses in the south of England I noticed that, despite the intention, teachers from multiracial schools in otherwise largely white LEAs were much in evidence). These were based regionally in higher education establishments which were expected to promote and support initiatives in schools.[2]

Though legitimised and hence funded after Swann, some of these courses built upon work already being carried out by innovators: Oxfordshire had a multicultural education adviser in 1982 with some teachers seconded to do their own development work, Leicestershire approved a major increase in 'race' inset in 1984 (Allcott, 1992), Taylor and Mortimer were mounting courses in Devon in the early 1980s (Taylor, 1984). The National Union of Teachers was also active in promoting anti-racist training from late 1982 (NUT, 1983). Most of the 1/86 courses focused on secondary schools, and some aimed to recruit two teachers from each school, and preferably senior ones, in the hope that they would be able to initiate real developments in their own institutions.

No systematic follow-up on a national scale has been undertaken on these courses to see what effect they might have had, though some evaluated themselves to an extent. They remained on the priority list for 2 years, though some ran for longer than that (indeed one was still running, heavily disguised, in Essex in 1993) and thus each influenced cohorts of at least forty or so, some considerably more. We cannot know the extent of this influence or how it has spread, though the number of resulting in-service days in the schools represented on courses has been considerable (between 1986 and 1990 I was a visiting speaker at about 50 inset days which had this genesis). In Hampshire, 'Multicultural Support Groups' were established for those who had done the Southampton course, but by 1990 none of these seemed to

be still functioning.

Leicestershire's course had been attended by at least one teacher from every secondary school (bar one) and 95% of primary schools by 1988. However, Allcott examined four of the secondary schools in detail (and others more superficially) between 1986 and 1990 for his doctoral thesis, reaching a pessimistic conclusion: in only one school was anti-racism or even multiculturalism a live issue. In one it had never become so, in another it flowered briefly to be later marginalised by the ERA, in the fourth a small group of staff were still trying to get it onto the school agenda. It may be that special factors made the picture worse in these schools (a change of head, falling rolls) but Allcott comments:

> ...the clearly observable fact is that when schools are under pressure they tend to become conservative and resistant to what are perceived to be additional demands upon their time and commitment (1992: p.180).

Less pessimistically, though not related to policies or any planned change, there is anecdotal evidence of another factor at work in individual schools and sometimes in LEAs: the movement of staff from multiracial areas. Schools in Hampshire, Dorset and Sussex appoint senior staff from Brent, Bristol and inner London, and the same must be true of many shire counties. While they do not all necessarily bring significant new insights, many clearly do. In some cases, the language and assumptions imbibed in urban areas where 'race' was indisputably an issue may ensure sympathetic support for interested staff, in-service courses, close attention to this 'dimension' of the National Curriculum, or produce a more informed response to the needs of isolated Asian and black pupils.

1988 and after

As touched upon in the introduction to this chapter and explored

in chapter 6, a reaction to anti-racism set in towards the end of the 1980s, as well as a concerted government attempt to centralise the control of education. The two processes produced a lethal combination when the one -'loony left anti-racism'- was used to justify the other.

> ...the Thatcher government has assiduously constructed folk devils out of certain LEAs. ....there now exists a demonology of Bogey Brent, Harpie Haringey and Evil ILEA. 'Opting out' is justified by the self-evident need of schools to free themselves from these tormenting LEAs; ..... Thatcher says in a major speech that instead of learning to add up children are learning anti-racist maths, 'whatever that may be'. Everyone 'knows' that children have to sing 'Baa baa green sheep' and teachers must not ask for black coffee (Gaine, 1989: p. 35).

This process did a great deal to legitimate the diminution of LEA powers, which by the mid-1990s has been considerable. The 'mainstreaming' of anti-racism (and hence its funding) aimed at by Warwickshire, Derbyshire and others was eroded in 1990 and in subsequent years by Poll/Council Tax capping, general cuts in Standard Spending Assessments, a change in Section X1 regulations (a prohibition on any general multicultural/anti-racist work) and the attrition of LEA influence through Local Management of Schools and other measures. The last of the ESG projects 'expired' in 1992 and not a single LEA continued their funding. The reduction of central LEA funding and their restructuring as a result of the 1988 Education Reform Act has led to the wholesale redeployment of multicultural advisers/inspectors or to their non-replacement when they leave (there was not a single advertisment for such a post in either 1993/4 or 1994/5).

The NFER cited earlier (Taylor, 1992), using local advisers/inspectors as respondents, showed that at least one fifth had serious concerns about the future of multicultural/

anti-racist work. Respondents in county LEAs cited as contibutory causes the absence of any lead from the DES or the NCC; reduced funding; restructuring of LEA services; 'the "no problem here" syndrome at all levels, but especially in "mostly white" schools' (p.6); indifference; the level of awareness of the increasingly powerful school governors; reduced ability to mount inset and marginalisation because of other changes. It may also be that since the capacity of LEAs to create their own climate is much reduced, it makes less sense than a few years ago to speak of differences between them.

Written policies have survived. There are no reports of LEAs actually rescinding them (though Berkshire thought about it, see Gaine, 1989 and especially Richardson, 1992, for how the local networks and alliances 'saved the words'). Taylor reports that there are as many LEAs revising policies as there are with 'stable' ones, though the nature of the revisions is not clear: some are reducing their scope and others are rewriting them into, for instance, general equal opportunities policies. About 20 LEAs have developed policies since the ERA, though this is more likely to be locally motivated than inspired by the Act itself. Some pre-ERA policies clearly live on: Hampshire, Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire all have harassment guidelines developed since 1988 which require monitoring as part of their policies and indeed Northants markets an in-service pack on racial harassment. Taylor notes a small growth in guidelines about ethnic monitoring, bilingualism and Travellers. Whatever the growth, however, using part of my earlier definition of a policy as something which actually converts principles into resources, since LEAs have fewer resources it follows that the policies cannot be the forces they once were.

Conclusions

After ten years of various influences and developments - ESGs, policies and their attendant debates, specialist staff, specialist courses, publications, the effect of Swann - there is

at least a marginally different climate about 'race' and education in many white areas than there was before. In 1992 two thirds of Taylor's respondents in county LEAs felt some progress was still being made, though few saw the ERA as helpful and most saw the national climate as unpropitious. Perhaps it is not too naive to hope that there are many individual schools all over England, and concentrations in the former spheres of influence of some LEAs, where there is much less of an attitude of 'no problem here'. There is no point in being glibly optimistic, but we should not forget the work that has been done nor assume that the Right has destroyed it all.

If this is so, if change has come about in or through LEAs then we would expect to see evidence of some of the preconditions and criteria for real change derived from Fullan, as well as results in terms of the analysis of racism offered earlier.

We have seen that to promote institutional change in 'white' LEAs external pressure was essential and played a key part, some of it from activists, some of it from national sources, not least in the form of funding. 'Mesopolitics' within LEAs was also critical. As regards attempting to realise change, to get beyond the early stages of mere initiation, some of the ESG projects and 1/86 courses followed change strategies which, in the light of the research cited in chapters 4 and 7, can be seen as coherent and perceptive: recognising that time was needed (up to five years in some cases), that teachers learned best from other teachers, especially with opportunities for frequent interaction, that support needed to be practical, easily available and well resourced, and that well-focused and funded inset was vital. They did not, as in the early policy examined by Troyna and Ball, 'devolve responsibility for interpretation and implementation almost entirely to those on the chalk face' (p.2). This augurs well for the persistence of change at school and teacher level.

In terms of racism buttressed by established institutional priorities, in some 'white' LEAs there was discernible change

during the 1980s (and indeed the early 1990s), measured by the formal re-prioritising of resources, legitimation and specific measures like harassment guidelines. Of course, in principle, the changes could have been greater, more radical, more transformative, but since any change requires trade-offs, concessions and linguistic compromises it cannot be assumed that the changes were not the best that could have been achieved. Finally, and pessimistically, it has to be conceded that structural changes, i.e. those implemented at the level of the state, have removed the funding and the power of LEAs to play an active anti-racist role.

Footnotes

1. I shall use the term 'mesopolitics' for the events and processes at this level. Some of the alliances, factions and conflicts within LEAs have a good deal in common with school micropolitics, but they also operate in the world of formal electoral politics.

2. For example: Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and northern Hampshire used Bulmershe; Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Avon used St Paul's and St Mary's at Cheltenham; Kent and East Sussex used Christ Church, Canterbury; West Sussex, Dorset and southern Hampshire used Southampton University.

Chapter 9

Initial Teacher Education

> To say that there is no need to educate all students about such matters because, as one college has said, 'very few of our students go into schools where they are likely to meet mixed classes' is to miss the point... Teachers should be equipped to prepare all their children for life in a multi-racial society (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1969, quoted by Swann Committee, 1985).

The previous two chapters examined the changes and pressures upon largely white schools and LEAs during the 1980s. One would expect that in a society where 'race', ethnicity and culture became issues in schooling they would also be reflected in some way in teacher education, and so it was. These pressures and changes coincided with others, and in some respects 'race' became symbolic of different models of what teachers ought to be, and hence how they ought to be prepared. I will suggest that anti-racism has experienced more of a double change, a reversal of fortune in ITE in white areas than in other sectors of education. In addition, it will become clear that the process by which anti-racism 'entered' the world of ITE and was resisted there reveals some themes common to previous chapters.

Context: Initial Teacher Education in the early 1980s

The shape and content of initial teacher education (ITE) has gone through many changes during the working lives of teachers practising today. Despite considerable changes since the war in its length, content and status, added to by suggestions by Robbins in 1963 and the James Report on teacher training in 1972, by the late 1970s there was again mounting pressure to reform. The eventual result of this, central control and statutory

criteria for ITE courses, came about in 1984 with the establishment of the Committee for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE). Though instituted by a Conservative Government, Macintyre (1990), one of its long-serving members, places its origins far earlier in the 'Great Debate' begun by Callaghan in 1976.

In 1977 the DES published a Consultative Document summing up some the regional conferences resulting from Callaghan's speech. With regard to ITE it noted 'fairly widespread misgivings' on the following issues:

> (i) whether entrants to the teaching profession have a sufficient command of the English language and are adequately numerate;
>
> (ii) whether teachers have an adequate appreciation of the world outside the education system, particularly the importance of industry and commerce to the national well-being, and the problems facing an industrial society like ours in an increasingly competitive world;
>
> (iii) whether existing courses of teacher education give enough attention to the role of teachers in a multicultural society;
>
> (iv) whether existing courses of teacher education furnish students with the essential intellectual mastery of the subjects they will teach;
>
> (v) whether they provide students with sufficient practical guidance to enable them to become effective teachers capable of directing children's work and ensuring their good discipline (DES 1977).

Macintyre points to other documents from the late 1970s, mostly

from HMI, indicating concerns about ITE, for instance about subject knowledge, teaching methods, assessment, variation between different courses and special educational needs. The feeling of continuity is significant in Macintyre's account:

> ....CATE and the Criteria which it was charged to enforce did not burst suddenly upon the educational scene. They arose directly from perceived shortcomings in teacher education which had been identified and intensively discussed for at least seven years beforehand (1990: p.150).

Callaghan's concerns were evidently understood in the same terms by the first two Conservative Secretaries of State for Education in the Thatcher administration, and strong continuity was ensured by the role of HMI: they had provided much of the informed evidence that reform was needed; it was they who visited institutions on CATE's behalf; and it was they who issued 'state of the nation' annual summaries during CATE's lifetime. CATE was proposed in the White Paper *Teaching Quality* in 1983, which contained considerable detail about the likely criteria, ostensibly for consultation. Macintyre states that in the original and final forms of these criteria 'the hand of the HMI was discernible'.

The first Chair of CATE, William Taylor, repeats the argument that this was not a specifically Conservative measure or project:

> The setting up of CATE reflected .... a worldwide concern about the content and quality of teacher preparation. In the United States, in Europe, in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and other economically advanced countries, the seventies saw a series of reports on the needs and shortcomings of teacher preparation which shared many common features. (Taylor, 1990: p.111).

A model of teaching...

ITE necessarily works to some model of the kind of teachers it wants to produce. In the past there has been some variation between the models for secondary and primary as well as between secondary modern and grammar school teachers, for instance in the immediate post-war years two-year schemes had a necessarily short term emphasis on training and competence. But by the 1960s, 'educational studies' had become well established throughout ITE - typically history, philosophy, psychology and sociology. With the three-year certificate rapidly giving way to the first BEds, the education of the 'cultivated man or woman' was emphasised more, (and noted with approval by Plowden) with strong boundaries between course elements and the status of 'methods' work being lower than the other elements (Ross, 1972).

The establishment of CATE in the early 1980s came at the same time as a newer, non-technicist, liberal view of teachers was being formalised and codified - the notion of the 'reflective practitioner'. This was developed initially in the USA by Schon (1983) with reference to the education of professionals, not teachers specifically (though Graves (1990) suggests Eisner was discussing something similar in 1979, and Pollard and Tann (1987) who have popularised the notion with regard to primary teachers more than anyone else in this country, link it to Dewey (1933) and to Stenhouse (1975). The aim is to produce professionals who 'know in action', who can make decisions or see solutions which are apparently intuitive or non-logical but which are arrived at by skill, gained by 'reflection in action'. Schon argued against a simple techno-rationality in teaching:

> One can only develop in students a capability for reflection-in-action, but one cannot tell a student that if she/he teaches relative humidity in a certain way, one can guarantee that the pupils will learn the concept (Schon, 1983: p.68).

Pollard and Tann open their book with a four-fold summary of reflective teaching, which

> ...implies and active concern with aims and consequences, as well as with means and technical efficiency;
> ...combines enquiry and implementation skills with attitudes of openmindedness, responsibility and wholeheartedness;
> ...is applied in a cyclical or spiralling process in which teachers continually monitor, evaluate and revise their own practice;
> is based upon teacher judgement, informed partly by self-reflection and partly by insights from educational disciplines (1987: p.4).

There is considerable emphasis on synthesizing the 'separate' domains of subject, method and theory, so that what is to be taught is analyzed simultaneously with teaching method, and empirical soundings of outcomes are taken as well as active consideration of longer term effects on individuals, teaching group and society. Teachers, they suggest, must be prepared to consider the implications of their work outside the classroom and to be active in shaping educational policy, and Pollard and Tann lay considerable stress on values, perhaps lest readers think of the book solely as a 'practical' guide.

It is striking how quickly the notion of the reflective teacher became widespread in ITE in Britain. The term, used interchangeably with 'extended professional' in some course documents, was scarcely in use in the early 1980s yet there was apparent near universal consensus about aiming for this model of in the early 1990s - 81% according to the MOTE study (Barrett et al: 1992).

The notion is not without its critics, some on the right arguing that it over-intellectualises the simple craft of teaching, and

others (on the left) that it has too un-political an idea of 'reflection'. These critiques will be taken up later.

The Arrival of CATE

The original membership of the Committee was rooted in schools, comprising two secondary teachers and two primary; two chief education officers, two LEA elected members, three staff from polytechnics or colleges which undertook ITE, three from universities; one from a large teachers' union; an LEA chief inspector; an educational journalist and two senior industrialists. Indeed Circular 3/84, announcing the establishment of CATE, said

> The membership of the Council will be drawn mainly from practising school teachers, teacher trainers and elected members and officers of local education authorities, with the aim of giving the Secretaries of State the benefit of the advice of experienced professionals with a broad knowledge of the best practice in teacher education (DES, 1984).

In 1990 Taylor stated his belief that CATE was effective, produced worthwhile change and had become accepted by the institutions which at first had feared it (it initially withheld accreditation from nine of the first ten institutions it looked at). While noting that more improvements were necessary (for instance to do with assessment and with dealing with different levels of ability) he cites the Senior Chief Inspector's report of 1989 (DES, 1989e) as finding

> ....considerable changes for the better in ITE, including improved balance between theory and practice; a higher proportion of staff with recent and relevant experience of teaching in schools; better links between institutional and school based work; more effective partnerships between institutions and

> schools; improved academic rigour in courses; a clear subject/curriculum match and evidence that ITE students respond confidently and enthusiastically to demands made of them (Taylor, 1990, p.121).

In a revision of the regulations in 1989, The DES claimed that

> The improvement in the overall quality of initial teacher training courses since 1984 has been substantial.... (1989d: p.3).

There can be no doubt that things had changed. 'Race' aside, teacher training left the 1980s in a very different condition from the way it began the decade, with several institutions closed, several merged with others, many courses closed down, many staff changes, and formalised central control. Thus, whatever the variation between particular institutions, there were national forces at work which bore down wherever ITE was undertaken.

ITE and 'race': pressure from CATE

With regard to 'race', CATE wanted reflective practitioners, though that was not the term it used. Amongst the criteria for approval of courses, CATE Circular 3/84 stated:

> Students should be prepared through their subject method work and educational studies to teach the full range of pupils they are likely to encounter in an ordinary school, with their diversity of...ethnic and cultural origins. They will need to learn how to respond flexibly to such diversity and to guard against preconceptions based on race.... (DES 1984, para 11)...
> ...They will also need to have a basic understanding of the type of society in which their pupils are growing up, with its racial and cultural mix.... (para

12).

The composition and role of CATE was altered somewhat in 1989 but the clause cited above remained. To it was added:

> Courses should also cover other aspects of the teacher's work, including:.... the school in its wider social context, including issues of culture, gender and race.... (DES 1989d).

In his account of CATE's work Macintyre (1990) says the professional issues criteria (which included the one above on 'race') 'did not present CATE with significant theoretical or practical problems' (p.153). The approach adopted by many institutions in the past had been to have optional courses, and CATE found they had to insist that courses or lectures on such issues were not optional and neither should attendance be. This was apparently easily done, though unlike courses on language, for instance, hourages were never prescribed.

Part of the reason for this may have been a reliance upon 'permeation', where institutions claimed their whole curriculum was threaded with a 'multicultural perspective'. Macintyre also reports some concerns over this, so that where institutions claimed to be following a permeation model CATE would have to ensure coverage was not fragmented or incomplete. Swann made the same point:

> [The]... strategy of 'permeation' may be effective where the level of awareness and commitment amongst course tutors is high, but without specific, detailed plans for compulsory input to initial courses, backed up by specialist options for those who wish to pursue the issues in more depth and widen their expertise, it may be just a paper promise (1985: p.559).

In other words, things can become so well permeated that they

disappear altogether.

CATE's insistence in another criterion that lecturers should have recent and relevant school experience may well have keyed in to the other Criteria, since numbers of new staff were recruited from urban or multi-racial schools and were thus more likely to have the high level of awareness and commitment called for by Swann.

In 1992 CATE was given yet another brief, a much reduced one. It also reduced the criteria for approval dramatically and removed the requirements quoted earlier. I shall return to this later.

Pressure from HMI

As key players in the accreditation of ITE courses and (for most of its life) respected advisers to CATE, there is evidence that HMI themselves were increasingly interested and concerned with the issue of 'race'. I have already indicated the importance of their role in the setting up of CATE and in the formulation of its criteria. They also highlighted 'race' as a neglected area in ITE in their collation of responses to Callaghan's speech. In the late 1970s the first HMI *de facto* specialists emerged, and by 1984 HMI appointments were being made in 'multiracial education'.

In 1979/80 an inspection exercise was undertaken by HMI into 'the coverage of multicultural education in teacher training courses' in 46 of the then 69 public sector institutions.

> The fact that a third of all the institutions...[we examined]...train B.Ed students who, like the great majority of PGCE students, need take no account, during their preparation for teaching, of education in a multicultural society must be a matter for concern. (HMI, 1980).

It identified 'a somewhat dormant state' and added 'it is clear that the topic does not attract strong support in the planning of new courses...' This report achieved little publicity, so much so in fact that the Swann Committee reprinted its main findings to achieve wider circulation. (Craft also included a summary in his *Teaching in a Multicultural Society - the Task for Teacher Education*, 1981.) A similar exercise was carried out by HMI in 1986, culminating in a conference addressed by a very senior HMI and the Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality. It reported a more favourable position than its predecessor listing the factors which it believed promoted good practice (including adequate time throughout the programme).

Other sources of pressure

CATE and the HMI were significant as instruments and shapers of government policy, but as I have already said, they were not the only forces acting on ITE establishments with regard to 'race'. Of the forces outside the DES, probably the most powerful was the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), which validated the vast majority of BEds and PGCEs taught in higher education colleges and polytechnics. (They looked at the academic worth of degree proposals (except in a few colleges validated by neighbouring universities), while CATE looked at the meeting of various professional criteria by the whole institution.)

As the result of a working party on multicultural education set up in the early 1980s they produced a 'Discussion Paper' in 1984 and *Notes on Multicultural Education* in 1985. In 1987 the CNAA Chief Executive stated that strictly speaking these were not a policy, but acknowledged that the second 'was widely alleged to have been a statement of official CNAA position' (ARTEN, 1988). In principle, at least, no new degree or certificate submission was validated by them unless it addressed issues of 'race'. Part of it used to state:

> Teachers need ... ...to be equipped to prepare all

> young people for life in a multicultural and racially harmonious society.... Teacher education ought to... ...permeate all elements of the course with multicultural and anti-racist considerations... ...encourage a critical approach to cultural bias... adopt an approach to all subjects... which avoids an ethnocentric view of the world.... Students ought to be... ...sensitive to the presence of unintentional racism in their own expectations...and in curriculum materials....' (CNAA, 1984).

The original discussion paper ran to about 1,500 words, and was unambiguous about the presence of racism and the need for teachers to engage with it, not least in themselves. Bearing in mind the progressions in the national educational climate outlined in chapter 6, it can be seen that the CNAA paper was in the spirit of the times.

The guidelines above stood for almost three years, but in December 1986 the overall council of the CNAA substituted for 'anti- racist' the phrase 'provided without racial discrimination'. Many believed that this was a bowing to political pressure, and the substitution brought protest and a resignation. The CNAA Chief Executive insisted to a meeting of the Anti-racist Teacher Education Network (ARTEN) in 1987 that it could only be 'reactive' and was not able to provide set criteria or checklists to validating panels (ARTEN, 1988: p.19), but nevertheless, for the period the *Notes* were in operation they must have had some effect on course design, and many such courses continued into the 1990s.

The Swann Report's publication in 1985 created a wave of interest and pressure for action. It brought together existing surveys and perspectives on the role of teacher education, for instance:

> Teachers cannot reasonably be blamed for failing ethnic minority children if they have not had access

> to the sort of initial and in-service training which would enable them to perform more successfully (Home Affairs Committee, 1981).

and was entirely unambiguous in its call for wider permeation and specialist courses. Swann also made the essential distinction between metropolitan and other areas:

> What is most immediately apparent ...apart from the general paucity of provision, is the continuing confusion of two distinct forms of provision - on the one hand, course provision designed specifically to give student teachers the particular knowledge and skills needed to teach in a multi-racial school, and, on the other hand, the preparation of all students in initial training for teaching pupils in a multi-racial society, irrespective of whether the students concerned will be teaching in an 'all-white' or multi-racial school' (HMSO, 1985: p.551).

Swann successfully called upon the infant CATE to address its concerns and supported CNAA's continuing efforts. Accepted by the then Secretary of State, for a while it provided legitimation and pressure for change which was mobilised in many institutions, by HMI and by CNAA. Later, as discussed in Chapter 6, it was one of the bogeys identified by the Right (Palmer 1987), since its liberal tone and official legitimation made it more of a threat than left-wing LEAs.

These paragraphs on CATE, HMI, The Swann Report and the CNAA indicate the potential effect of particular high level policies; there were other lesser policies but which nevertheless had the potential to affect some institutions. About a dozen colleges are 'voluntary', which means they retain their religious origins and funding, and the voluntary colleges as a group passed a multicultural/anti-racist policy. Between 1985 and 1988 they had a national working party which met twice yearly.

Many colleges were funded by LEAs until they were brought under a central funding council by the 1988 Education Reform Act, and were therefore subject to LEA policies. For example, even if it wanted to, Bradford and Ilkley College could not have been seriously out of step with the LEA's general stance. On the other hand, it needs to be remembered that such pressure worked in the opposite direction in LEAs where 'race' was 'not a problem'. In areas like Sussex, whatever progress a college might have made it was likely to be considerably ahead of its surrounding LEA. This mattered partly in respect of funding, but also in terms of relationships with schools and the element of students' learning which took place in schools.

There were less formal sources of pressure, too, some of them reflecting the changes taking place in schools and in society. Their influence was brought about through several factors: the constant steady movement of teachers into establishments (encouraged, as I have said, by CATE), bringing their current concerns with them; in multiracial areas students themselves brought their concerns back to college; in a minority of colleges black students were numerous and/or confident enough to call for change.

Effects

ITE is not the same as schooling. It is smaller, teaching each year only a fraction of the school population, and it is better resourced. It has shorter 'generational cycles' than most of the school sector, four years for BEds and only one for PGCEs. As a result, while not easy, it is easier to control than the country's 30,000 schools. Central government directives about its curriculum were laid down before such a thing was attempted for schools and they can be more easily enforced: restructuring or closures of individual departments or whole establishments can be carried out (or threatened) with impunity, compared to the potential for strife when even a small village school is axed.

There are limits to this: it is only since the early 1980s that university ITE departments have permitted HMIs to inspect, and over a decade later some of the powers proposed for the Teacher Training Agency over research were reduced in the Lords through vigorous university campaigning over academic freedom. There is also an academic and professional tradition of autonomy, which can manifest itself as resistance (with a variety of motivations), so it would be a mistake necessarily to equate policy changes with real curricular ones. The relatively greater power and rights of students compared to pupils is also relevant, both in promoting or resisting change.

A corollary of ITE being easier to control is that it is also easier to influence. It has much better networks of internal communication between institutions than is possible for schools, helped by its smaller size and better resourcing, but also through the system of external examining, peer review in validation panels, and through journals and conferences. Ascendant missions (like the notion of the reflective practitioner) can spread very quickly, and well organised and persuasive groups have been able to influence key bodies (a small core of anti-racists brought CNAA's *Notes* into being).

This means that the outcomes of the pressures I have been describing, and the reactionary ones which have followed, are subject to a complex web of acquiescence and adoption but also to inertia and resistance. For a short time, anti-racism had high level legitimation on its side in every ITE establishment in the country, and to that extent had more chance of making an impact, and sooner, than could ever be the case in schools. On the other hand, any anti-racist developments could easily be neutralised by inertia or, as we shall see, stopped in their tracks by the withdrawal of legitimation.

I now propose to illustrate some of the outcomes with reference to the wider picture where possible and also with some account of what took place in my own college.[1] Outcomes will be

considered under the headings of course documentation; course content; staff responses; institutional policy; and student learning.

At the level of *course documentation*, some clear and obvious outcomes are discernible, since all institutions had to address 'race' in some way to be approved by CATE and the academic validators. Although many staff had done little or nothing before, it was now so inescapably on the agenda that the attentions of CATE were bound to concentrate minds wonderfully (at least as far as learning the right rhetoric). In the complicated theology of approval for ITE in the 1980s the gods of CNAA and CATE had the power of life and death, so institutions tended to move with some determination to live according to the gospel. I wrote in 1987:

> Anyone who has witnessed the rite of a CNAA visit (perhaps twenty staff from other colleges, reading and questioning for two days) will know that some of this is empty ritual, but not all. HMI visits in connection with CATE accreditation contain less empty ritual, and both, if unsuccessful, require changes, replanning, rewriting, if courses are to continue. Colleges fear these visits, and course writing and the appointment (and sacrificing) of staff is affected up to two years in advance of them (Gaine, 1987: p.168).

For a time HMIs doing CATE scrutinies designated one of each visiting team to look at this area (among others). In the 1985 HMI inspection of my college several individuals were questioned about the issue and I had to correspond with the designated HMI before his arrival. Before the inspection a briefing day for all staff was organised, with a formal input from myself and several accompanying circulars. Whatever their own particular commitment to the issue, senior management put their institutional weight behind staff being well prepared. In the final report there were five separate paragraphs on 'multi-cultural education', taking

up about one page out of 40, and the report, though positive, made a specific recommendation (setting up a resource centre) which was swiftly acted upon (DES, 1987).

CATE seemed generally satisfied with progress revealed from HMI inspections at the time. In October 1985 the then Secretary of State, Keith Joseph, asked CATE to look specifically at the suggestion in the recently published Swann Report that all students should 'have an opportunity of gaining some experience in a multiracial school'. Of this Macintyre says:

> It was recognised that it might not always be possible for every institution to arrange such experience for all of its students, but in that case it was all the more important that other elements of the course should provide opportunities for students to gain a basic understanding of the multi-ethnic basis of our society.... In general... it was considered that institutions were aware of the issues involved through their work with schools, and there was some evidence that progress along the lines required was being encouraged by local committees (1991: p.155).

Though he cites no evidence for why they should have had this belief in the case of colleges in largely white areas.

At the level of ***actual course content*** another HMI Report (DES, 1989b) was optimistic, though I have anecdotal evidence of coverage being patchy (for instance, letters from students at other largely white institutions complaining of their courses and facilities and asking for help). There was clearly great variation in student receptiveness (for instance between urban PGCEs and provincial, largely white BEds), assessment and attendance requirements, and local teacher and LEA involvement, hourages, methods of teaching, staff expertise, and course structure.

The Anti-Racist Teacher Education Network (ARTEN) had a less rosy view than HMI. In 1988 they published the outcomes of seminars and meetings it had held during 1987 - *Permeation: the Road to Nowhere*. Its key position was that the philosophy underlying most work in ITE was multiculturalist, or as ARTEN expressed it, 'Racism as an aberration, an accident resulting from an unnecessary distortion of human social relationships' (p.3). ARTEN's position was that racism had to be seen as a structural phenomenon:

> This position informs an understanding of antiracism as part of a wider struggle for equality and justice - a position which would require a fundamental reorganisation of the society (1988: p.3).

Clearly this is some way from the position adopted by CATE, and ARTEN notes that while questions were asked of courses by CATE the questioners are not 'themselves "qualified" to make judgements about courses or the people who teach them' (p.4). ARTEN argued against the likelihood of consensus in institutions if a really anti-racist struggle was going on, since it would necessarily involve constant struggle and conflict. 'Permeation and incorporation can be seen as institutional forms of resistance' (p.5). In brief, the more an institution persuaded CATE that satisfactory, consensual permeation was taking place in a course, the more ARTEN believed no really challenging work was taking place.

Ten years on, it is striking how unambiguous Swann - a government report, after all - was about just what should be permeated:

> ...a satisfactorily permeated course would in our view be one in which... various concepts of 'racism': intentional, unintentional, institutionalised would be understood, and the student equipped to combat such phenomena, as well as the manifestations of personal prejudice in him/herself, in colleagues and in pupils (p.558).

Staff responses. The conflict to which ARTEN refers would arise between staff and between staff and students. The latter I discuss later and in chapter 10. As regards staff, my college encouraged 'permeation' by a compulsory programme of staff training (in the style of RAT/ART, see chapter 5) as well as signalling its importance before inspections and validations in the way described above. It also had a course monitoring group, with powers to enquire of all course teams about content, assessment and reading lists and to make corresponding suggestions. In relation to ARTEN's comments about struggle, it is worth quoting the preamble to the clause creating this group:

> We are under no illusions about this being straightforward or necessarily welcomed; undoubtedly some will see this as an intrusion into their own academic domain and resist any attempt by 'outsiders' to modify what they teach. There is no point, however, in this not becoming a matter of open debate within the college; if there is a policy about the curriculum then sooner or later there will be disagreement about its precise applications. It would scarcely be worth having a policy if this were not the case (WSIHE, 1985).

In the event there was little overt conflict. For the most part the atmosphere in the staff RAT sessions was less fraught than those run for students (see chapter 10) and the majority of evaluations were positive, though the content was designed to be challenging. I can only speculate why this was so:

> In my own experience college staff have been more amenable to anti-racist perspectives than some others. Part of the job of a teacher trainer is to be professionally informed, so to that extent there seems to be a certain willingness to accept new issues outside people's direct experience (Gaine, 1987: p.171).

The speculation is based upon my experience of leading RAT at my own college and one other (fifteen sessions in all) and the comparison with similar sessions with students (a much greater number), with LEA officials (once), educational psychologists (once), social workers (twice) and many with teachers. Students I discuss in detail in the next chapter, but the differences I observed with between teachers and ITE staff are probably explained by the domination of school life by the demands of immediacy and concreteness, multidimensionality and simultaneity, unpredictability, and personal involvement with students (Huberman, 1983, quoted at more length in chapter 2). Fullan similarly refers to 'the capricious world of the teacher....' (1991: p.34). The less capricious conditions of work in ITE, at least in the 1980s, allowed more of a long term view and perhaps a higher proportion of staff than many schools would have who were enabled to cope with change.

At the level of ***formal policy***, I have already stated that my colleges's policy included compulsory staff training and a structure for monitoring course content. The overall policy was passed in 1985 (probably the peak year for ITE activity in this area), highly detailed, its advocates clearly capitalising on the legitimacy conferred (and nervousness produced) by national policies. The policy included ethnic monitoring for staff and students, compulsory courses for all ITE students, encouragement to ask about 'race' during ITE selection interviews, meals provision, dealing with harassment and the establishment of the monitoring group referred to earlier.

This policy was unusual. It went far beyond curricular matters, though it obviously aimed to address them. It was high profile, being monitored by an Academic Board committee and having to report to the Board each year. It was well resourced: with a budget for conferences, materials, staff training and for specific ITE teaching. Importantly too, as well as being facilitated by the outside pressures it had the clear support of the Director and the senior staff responsible for ITE. This is

partly chance (ie to do with the individuals in post at the time) but it was also a function of being a small institution whose central defining feature was teacher education. Developing anti-racism may have been easier in 'monotechnics' than in polytechnic or university departments of education, where other institutional missions may have prevailed.

As for change at the level of ***students' learning*** after the pressure of CATE, CNAA, HMI, local policies, the work of newly appointed staff, ARTEN supporters and quietly racist 'incorporators', any generalisations about what ITE institutions taught students about 'race' by the beginning of the 1990s are fraught with problems, not the least of which might be re-framing the question as 'what did students learn?'

Part of the report of an HMI/CATE visit to Charlotte Mason College, indicates something. The college had two schemes for giving students experience of inner city areas:

> Many students indicated an interest in multi-ethnic education, although in a considerable number of cases their experience, knowledge and understanding were limited. In particular some students equated the issue with inner-city areas inhabited by members of ethnic minority communities. They appeared unaware of its relevance in the education of all pupils, including those living in all-white, especially rural areas such as that in which the college is situated. (cited by Macintyre, 1990: p.156).

In the 1989 HMI inspection of my own college 'multicultural' education, was again reported upon, HMI saying that the students' depth of understanding was 'too uneven', that students needed more confidence in applying information and insights, and that there was 'limited evidence that the policy of equal opportunities is being implemented in all specialist curriculum areas' (DES 1990b).

We had been attempting to meet the CATE criterion about 'race' with a fourfold plan for BEd students (there were different strategies for the shorter PGCE courses). Firstly, all the students would take part in an awareness-raising day about 'race' and racism during their first year (RAT). These were in groups of 16 or 18 at most, each led by a black or Asian trainer, and consisted of videos, discussions, and small group work designed to allow space to explore ideas and feelings (see chapter 5). Attendance was compulsory, though there was no assessed work. In their second year they had a compulsory ten week (15 hour) 'teaching studies' course ('Race', Gender and Classrooms: RGC), intended to build upon RAT with factual data, theoretical analyses and educational strategies. This was taught in a fairly traditional format of lectures, videos, and seminars, assessed by coursework and exam. Thirdly, they would also learn through 'permeation' of the issue through their other courses, achieved through a programme of staff training. Fourthly, there was a specialist option available late in their final year. I referred above to The Swann Report's recommendation (1985: p.611) of placements in multiracial schools, via distant urban outposts if necessary, but this was rejected firstly as misdefining the issues as urban problems and secondly as inevitably limiting provision to a volunteer minority.

Most of the planned provision was a product of its time. It was underpinned by notions of racism widely held by anti-racists in the 1980s (as explored in chapter 6) and to which I had little trouble gaining formal agreement within the college. Essentially, we held that racism was endemic in a society which had economically exploited and culturally dominated other peoples defined as 'races', in the main and most obviously black and south Asian people. This account alone could be counted upon to antagonise many whose socialisation and home culture inclined them to think of Britain as civilised, democratic and fair, with a history to match. When asked what he thought of British civilization, Gandhi was famously supposed to have remarked 'I think it would be a good idea'. Many of our students would not

have seen the joke, and the following comments from later interviews were typical of many in the course evaluations:

> *...you made me ashamed to be white, British and Christian, I felt you were saying that, I didn't feel proud of that whereas before I had..*
>
> *...the first session ....sticks out in my mind....because I think it was blatantly something the other way round, you know, opposite <Did it feel like it was saying Britain is terrible?> Yes! We're all rubbish, yes, yes.*

But this account of racism did not stop there. It did not identify white racists as malignant, conscious discriminators but as ordinary people, people who took on racist cultural assumptions with their mothers' milk, routinely institutionalised racist practices in their jobs, and recreated racist discourses in their interaction with friends, family and the media. In other words, the people who carry racism around are white people just like the students, their families (and their lecturers). [2]

In the longer RGC course we recapped on this kind of analysis of racism and went on to relate it more to schooling, with sessions on bilingualism, achievement and the curriculum. The reception was mixed and complex, and is explored in detail via interview data in chapter 10, though suffice it to say for now that many students found the material very threatening and reacted in a hostile way, at least at first. I present some evidence in chapter 10 that after sufficient time for reflection (two years) many became less hostile.

As for the final two strands of the planned provision, no-one in a group from one cohort (1987-1991) which I later interviewed acknowledged any significant learning from permeation. Main subjects (which occupied half their time for four years) were mentioned fleetingly three times, once critically, and for one

student her final year dissertation was the crucial experience which cemented her interest into conviction.

The final year option, by definition, recruited students who were already interested and sought to develop their interest. Its numbers were restricted by staffing, though as I mention in the next chapter, it was striking how many made this option their first choice.

As a final index of what students learned during their ITE, I asked the interviewees referred to above about their times on teaching practice. None acknowledged any significant learning at all about multicultural or anti-racist work while in school. They were able to state a preference for one of the few multiracial schools available for teaching practice, but of the two interviewees who did so, one of them observed what she described as 'appalling practice'.

Overall, I would suggest that my own college was at one end of a spectrum in white areas, representative of better provision. My reasons for this claim are the number of requests received for course outlines, consultancy at other institutions, impressions gathered from attendance at ARTEN meetings and HMI conferences, together with the rarity of my post (which was explicitly to promote racial equality). If I am correct, then it is fair to argue that while central policy obliged all ITE institutions to address 'race' in their curricula, what I have described in terms of policy and teaching content was more detailed than in most institutions.

The ERA and after

No sooner had the policies of the mid 1980s begun to have their patchy effect on ITE, the 1988 Education Reform Act was passed and the demands of National Curriculum began to make themselves felt. Whereas in the past what was expected to be in the school

curriculum was to some extent negotiable and variable, by the 1990s there were statutory obligations. Accordingly, there was a greater expectation that ITE would produce subject expertise in primary students, who were also expected to be more competent than previously in science and technology, and for all students there was greater emphasis on assessment. At the very least this made the ITE curriculum more crowded, and it might therefore be argued leaving less space for any focus on 'race'. In practice the reduced space was probably also in the priorities of ITE staff: not surprisingly, and just as in schools, the National Curriculum came to take up a great deal of anxious attention.

A guidance document issued by the NCC (1991b) includes a section headed *Needs and Opportunities in Initial and Licensed Teacher Training - a view of the whole curriculum*. Here it states that newly trained teachers will need to

> - be familiar with NCC's definition of the whole curriculum and cross-curricular elements...
> - consider ways in which the National Curriculum can broaden the horizon of all pupils so that they can understand and respect, learn from and contribute to the multicultural society around them;
> - understand how their specialist subject(s) can contribute to the personal and social development of pupils and help prepare them for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life (p.6).

It also suggests that initial training programmes might include opportunities for student teachers to:

> - discuss whole curriculum issues with tutors, teachers and peers in mixed subject as well as in specialist subject groups;
> - consider how LEAs and schools promote cross-curricular dimensions through whole-school policies and through the school curriculum.

It also has a chart linking NC training needs with the last CATE criteria, published in Circular 24/89. While in the language of the NCC, these were nevertheless the remaining spaces for any mention of 'race', and potentially at least provided additional legitimation for the continued coverage of the issue.

Another effect of anti-racism: reaction

The tide of official legitimation began to turn in ITE in about 1988, and CATE's reformulation in 1989 presaged the ascendancy of a new, more technicist model of teaching promoted by part of the New Right, allied with the curricular traditionalism of some others (discussed in chapter 6). This has clear implications for teachers' education about 'race' and racism.

HMIs inspected my college again in 1989, but gave far fewer signals of interest in 'race' than formerly. While I was questioned by an HMI, in contrast to my central role in 1985 I was scarcely involved in the preparation process at all. What is more, whereas in 1985 the emphasis seemed to be 'how much are you doing?', in 1989 it was more in the tone of 'justify the place of this kind of course in ITE'. In the three inspections since then 'race' (or equal opportunities) have received no attention *at all*.

I have described in Chapter 6 how, towards the end of the 1980s, a group of right-wing pressure groups and individuals mounted an increasingly successful campaign against anti-racist concerns. ITE did not escape criticism earlier, in 1982 the *Daily Mail* wrote

> The explosive mixture being produced in the 80s is the direct result of a second generation educated in the comprehensives over the last two decades, stimulated by well-meaning but malignant philosophies of trendy teachers coming out of training colleges with half-baked ideas on mixed ability teaching,

> egalitarianism, and the abolition of corporal punishment and classroom discipline (*Daily Mail*, 4/5/82).

In 1989 the first formal inroads were made into the 'monopoly' of institution-based ITE: the licensed and articled teacher schemes (DES Circular 18/89). The latter was a pilot school-based 2-year PGCE scheme, and while it actually had almost as much college input as a one-year scheme, this was firmly limited to subject and 'method' courses, that is to say, no 'theory'. The scheme was funded to take in only three cohorts since it proved far more expensive than the standard PGCE route, and seems partly to have had the function of preparing schools for more school-based ITE, which was piloted in the mid-1990s by three SCITTS (school based initial teacher training schemes).

The idea of licensed teachers fits very well with the 'craft' ideas of some on the Right, discussed below. Arguably more in response to teacher shortages than right-wing pressure it aimed to recruit non-graduates in their late 20s or older who had some experience or skill which schools could use. The typical example given was someone with practical or scientific skills. Most of the teacher unions opposed the scheme, as did the ITE institutions, though several became involved in the brief college-based elements of the scheme. Licensed teachers were very clearly founded on an apprenticeship model, being employed by the school (usually in secondary shortage subjects) and learning on the job.

In response to the Green Paper outlining these schemes, O'Hear produced *Who Teaches the Teachers?* (Social Affairs Unit, 1988). He recommended an extension of the articled teacher route, and several measures to get influence away from LEA officials and ITE staff, partly because of what he saw as their undue concern with racial inequality. In two earlier publications (Shaw, 1987; Hillgate, 1986) ITE was similarly mentioned as a hotbed of anti-racist subversion, but at that time there was much less

attention devoted to it than to schooling.

This began to change by 1988/9 with these first two booklets targeting ITE, and by 1992 the model CATE had been working to in the 1980s had been somewhat mauled. *Learning to Teach* (Hillgate Group, 1989), developing O'Hear's points, made three criticisms of ITE. First, that it is intellectually weak:

> It is difficult to think of a single department of education in a British university or polytechnic which has genuine intellectual distinction, nor is it clear what intellectual distinction in this area would really amount to (Hillgate Group, 1989: p.4).

In other words, education's claim to be an academic discipline is specious, it is essentially a low-level, practical concern, and 'educationalists' have no genuine expertise about education above other people.

Their second criticism is that it is biased, by which they mean left-wing, believing that the critique in ITE of British and other western societies is too influenced by Marxist sociology and a preoccupation with inequality. They cite two course outlines from Brighton Polytechnic as examples to demonstrate their point.

Third, they argue that ITE lecturers have not enough classroom experience. The efforts of CATE notwithstanding, the contention here is that lecturers are 'theoreticians' and removed from real classroom life. This is important as one of the foundations of their later position that teaching is a craft, and the real locus of expertise about teaching is therefore in the schools. (However, not in all schools. O'Keeffe was alarmed at CATE's attempts to increase the numbers of ITE staff with recent and relevant experience:

> What is to stop institutions of preparation recruiting

> this recent practice from the worst and most politicised LEAs in the country? (O'Keeffe, 1990: p.7).)

Another booklet critical of conventional ITE appeared in 1991, from Sheila Lawlor, the Deputy Director of the Centre for Policy Studies. *Teachers Mistaught - Training in Theories or Education in Subjects* describes itself as 'research', though the leader of the *Times Educational Supplement* in the same week said that it really deserved no such name. While claiming to be a survey of practice in PGCEs and BEds in England, Lawlor bases all her comments on the prospectuses of some of them, and with no direct communication with the institutions at all. She comes to a series of fairly flimsy conclusions, asserting that PGCE method work is all about current educational theory:

> ....practical experience has been manipulated so as to provide a vehicle for theory...
> Periods of training in the classroom are chiefly regarded as providing an opportunity for putting educational theory into practice.... (p.24).
> The PGCE undermines the very notion of subject mastery through the relentless application of recent theory.... The BEd courses, too, fail to ensure a proper knowledge of subjects and instead substitute a set of dubious theoretical assumptions to be applied at every possible instance...(p.32).
> The bright graduate will be put off teaching by the emphasis on the psychological and sociological side issues... (p.40).

These assertions are somewhat sweeping and display apparent ignorance of the CATE criteria. They bear little relationship to the findings about ITE in the MOTE study published in 1992. (Barrett et al) or the HMI report on 'multicultural education' in ITE published in 1989 (DES, 1989b). What Lawlor means by 'theory' is elaborated a little: it is the educational concern

for inequality.

Bizarre, ill-researched, polemical, the booklet nevertheless received wide publicity. When the then Secretary of State, Kenneth Clarke, announced little more than a year later an 'enquiry' into primary education, he cited Lawlor as a reference (along with Bennett (1976) and Alexander (1991)). In a speech in October 1991 Kenneth Clarke stated

> I meet too many young people who are ... put of by the length of the course. Or they go on a course and give up ... too much theory and not enough practice (*TES*, 18/10/91).

Eighteen months after *Teachers Mistaught* was published some sweeping changes in ITE, especially secondary PGCEs, were announced. In July 1992 Lawlor's husband was appointed to SEAC.

Rather reminiscent of the 'loony left' press campaigns described in Chapter 6 was the affair of 'Sharon Shrill'. Annis Garfield, a classics graduate from Cambridge, resubmitted her own application for a primary PGCE after its initial rejection together with a fictitious one for a black woman called Sharon Shrill. The fictitious candidate had an upper second class degree including some sociolinguistics and some English (relevant for the CATE criteria) and had worked as a classroom assistant, supply teacher, playgroup leader and counsellor for young offenders. She also 'had' four grade As at A level and seven at GCSE. The real candidate had a 2:2, three unspecified pass grades at A level and five at O level, and stated in her application that 'reading was largely mistaught in schools today' and that classics is 'more relevant to the primary curriculum than any other degree'.

These details are culled from an exhaustive article in the *TES* (1991a) but they are not as portrayed in the *Daily Mail* or on the BBC's panel and phone-in *Any Questions*. The *TES* suggests that

Garfield became

> ...a cause celebre of the Right, which claims that modern teacher training methods were more sympathetic to 'left-wing, Afro-Caribbean sociologists' than to Oxbridge-educated proponents of traditional education.

The style of the coverage is less interesting than the fact that there was any coverage at all. After all, why should an individual's acceptance or not onto an ITE course be national front-page news? It seems possible at least that the same kind of network that was evidenced in Chapter 6 was once again at work, and that Ms Shrill/Garfield became a symbolic lever to bring about change. Soon afterwards the *Daily Mail* trumpeted a 'shake-up' of CATE because of the affair.

> Our education system is in turmoil. Nowhere is that more apparent than in the teacher training colleges - A shake-up of teacher training is now certainly at the top of the Government's manifesto pledges for the next election. Education Secretary Kenneth Clarke, who has condemned child-centred learning as 'silly', has not been idle. After the Sharon Shrill affair in which Cambridge classicist Annis Garfield was denied a teacher training place .... yet was offered an interview when she posed as a fictitious Afro-Caribbean feminist, he sacked some of the 'trendies' from the quango which validates teacher training courses. Further, he has ordered two enquiries: the first into the quality of courses approved, and the second into the way in which teachers are trained to teach reading. It is an open secret that he is outraged by some of the courses which have been approved (*Daily Mail*, 30/4/91).

Taylor, still the Chair after seven years denied all this, saying that suggestions that four members had been sacked was

'...offensive to dedicated volunteers who have come to the end of their office' (TES: 15/2/91).

It is ironic that in a chapter contributed to Graves' book (1990) Taylor comments on the climate when CATE was established:

> In many countries, there could still be found those who maintained that the only training teachers needed was effective induction into an academic discipline, plus a spot of apprenticeship. (Taylor, 1990: p.112).

He evidently thought this had changed.

Credence is given at least to the *Mail*'s claims about Clarke's sympathies, however, by the fact that one of the new members of CATE was Anthony O'Hear, member of several of the right-wing think tanks, a professor of philosophy, and not obviously meeting any of the original criteria for CATE membership. The new appointments were accompanied by a letter from Clarke:

> I am sure you will be as acutely aware as I am of the extent of public interest in and concern about the quality of teacher training.... I would hope that the scrutinising and monitoring of courses can be more than just a paper exercise (Clarke, 1991).

On the same day this letter was sent, the *Mail* claimed of ITE courses generally:

> Too much of their training is stuffed with sociology. They are not given enough classroom practice. And there is still too much emphasis on the fad of free expression... (*Daily Mail*, 31/1/91)

Hill (1990, 1991) argues that by 1990 ITE was being subjected to an 'ideological blitzkrieg', or in Ball's phrase a 'discourse of derision' from the radical Right, middlebrow media, the right-

wing think tanks, and Conservative education ministers. He suggests that the overall project of the Right is

> .... vocationalism, technicising and de-skilling teaching, anti-egalitarianism, increased differentiation among schools, pupils and teachers, an attack upon teachers and teacher trainers,a tightening control of the curriculum (Hill, 1990: p.5).

In exhaustively researching the writings of the radical Right at its various levels, he suggests their commonest themes as:

> - college-based ITE should be scrapped or massively reduced;
> - an apprenticeship model of training should be introduced;
> - current ITE is over-concerned with changing society and with egalitarian or liberal perspectives on schooling;
> - current ITE promotes multiculturalism and anti-racism;
> - there is too little emphasis on classroom discipline skills;
> - there is too little emphasis on knowledge and love of subject;
> - there is little or no need for 'educational theory' (derived from Hill, 1991: p.7).

There are tensions within the Right. O'Keeffe, for instance, upholds the importance of theory, and joins with other critics of government proposals in pointing out that if the practice in schools is so corrupted then placing new students there will hardly improve the situation. He believes:

> The crisis we have is an intellectual crisis. For years we have been transmitting wrong notions of what it means to be educated (p.27). To be educated is to engage in the disinterested learning of facts, ideas and theories (1990: p.40).

What he shares with the others, however, is a sense that

something profoundly important about British education has been eroded or destroyed. He identifies several features of 'progressivism', but repeatedly returns to aspects of multicultural or anti-racist initiatives almost as touchstones. He does not blame teacher education for starting this, but seems to regard it is a powerful means of its reproduction. His answer, then, is not to do away with college courses and to put all would-be teachers straight into school:

> There are strong grounds for arguing that education theory does not have a technical impact. The grounds for studying it are educational, and not based on any training implications. Education theory is an important area of human concern, insofar as education itself is important. That is the ground for would-be teachers studying it... (O'Keeffe, 1990: p.48).

Despite the tensions, what emerges from Hill's list above is that a central part of the Right's project must be to wrest the control of ITE away from those who, in their view, currently have it.

The future

Hill (1991) argues that despite my assertion earlier that ITE is relatively easily controlled, there is a contest going on for its soul. He identifies, as well as the right and the left, three competing perspectives in the centre:

> *hard*: exemplified by Hargreaves (1989) and Warnock (1988), whose main proposal seems to be more school-basing and a more competences-based approach;
> *soft*: Plowdenite, sure of the ability of 'the profession' to do a good job if left alone;
> *left/centre*: Hill puts several groupings here because of the scope of their intentions. They are not, he suggests, 'overtly about the development of critical reflective

> transformative intellectuals', they 'are not Radical and are not identifiably Left' (p.12).

He does not explicitly link the reflective practitioner model to this centrist grouping, but he would presumably site it with the second two, at least in its most 'liberal' form. In his view a 'centre' perspective 'is the perspective of much of the current education establishment', and this would appear to be confirmed by the MOTE study (Barrett et al, 1992).

Now whereas the Right has one critique of what is, in effect, the reflective practitioner model, and believes it to be responsible through naive liberalism for the undermining of important principles in British education, the radical Left sees it as much less effective. To repeat, of the left/centre grouping, Hill says

> ... as it stands, its....intentions, while laudable, are not Radical and are not identifiably left.

Hill suggests a more radical stance (doubtless self-consciously proposing the Right's worst nightmare) an ITE founded upon social perspectives which emphasise social justice during economic change, egalitarianism, democratic processes and oppose sharp differentials, narrow definitions of 'standards' and elitism. ITE would thus

> encourage and facilitate the development of teachers who display civic courage in pursuing social justice and equal opportunities in the classroom, school and society (1991: p.13).

This would require reflection of course, but at three levels:

> - on curriculum and pedagogy, thus giving a critical understanding of the concepts students will later need in their teaching;

- on theory and practice, really the tradition of action research and ethnographies;
- on issues of schooling and society, considering the moral and social implications of curriculum, pedagogic and organisational decisions (p.14).

The last of these is clearly what is distinctive about the radical Left's agenda, and while others (including, perhaps, O'Keeffe) would agree 'we [should] be encouraging students to be intellectual about being practical' it is the connection of the teacher's work to wider social processes and structures with a critical and transformative intention which is really different. Their goal is teacher as 'transformative intellectual' in Giroux and McLaren's phrase

> ...one who exercises forms of intellectual and pedagogic practice which attempt to insert teaching and learning directly into the political sphere by arguing that schooling represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations. Teachers who assume the role of transformative intellectuals treat students as critical agents, question how knowledge is produced and distributed, utilize dialogue, and make knowledge meaningful, critical, and ultimately emancipatory (Giroux and MaLaren, 1989: p.xxiii)

As the 1990s unfold the outcome of the struggle between different forces and perspectives in ITE seems to be as follows: the Right is increasingly able to set the ideological or at least rhetorical agenda. They have quite effectively pilloried 'theory' in ITE and promoted a climate where school teaching is defined primarily as a skill, as a technical craft, best learned by an apprenticeship giving a good grounding in ('traditional') subject knowledge and firm discipline. They seem to have a ready ear amongst Conservative policy-makers:

> Reading and writing... spelling and sums... tests and tables... discipline and self-respect... I also want reform of teacher training. Let us return to basic subject teaching, not courses in the theory of education. Primary teachers should learn to teach children how to read, not waste their time on the politics of race, gender and class (Major, Speech to Conservative Party Conference, 1992).

By 1995, rather than (arguably) high-sounding ideals about the model of the teacher, the emphasis is increasingly on specific things a teacher must be able to do, a model which seems to be intended as relatively narrow, reductionist and quantifiable. The 1992 CATE Criteria were much briefer than those of 1984 or 1989, and are stated as a list of competences, with the former paragraphs on 'race' no longer obligatory. ITE is obliged to base students in schools for increasing amounts of their time (incorporating some of Hargreaves and Warnock's ideas). The corresponding hourage for college based courses has been cut, and these are subject to detailed prescriptions about content. The 'educational establishment' in ITE may be able to attenuate the plans of the Right by rewriting reflective practitioner aims and models in the language of competences (the NCC notes on ITE can be seen this way, and the MOTE study notes a minority of courses beginning to use a 'competency model, while others claimed a joint reflective practitioner/competency model') but they cannot depart from the stipulated time in schools.

Much less autonomy is allowed. Control of content, inspection and funding has passed to the TTA, thereby removing ITE from the higher education mainstream and begining to subject it to more 'outcomes based' criteria. With three exceptions its membership of 12 meets almost none of those originally set for CATE in 1984. HMI, whilst still existing as such and not as OFSTED, appear to have lost the key advisory and shaping role described by Macintyre (ibid.).

Neither the reflective practitioner, nor the teacher described in the radical Left model, nor anti-racism as interpreted by either of them can easily survive this. All require the asking of difficult questions and the standing outside of taken-for-granted assumptions, so are unlikely to be developed by individuals or small groups of students who are based in one or two schools for all of their ITE. For example, in examining teacher 'professionalism' with regard to 'race', Gurnah (1991) notes the tendency to be self-referential and consensual, to close ranks when criticised, to honour the black professionals most like themselves, in short to 'act as minor custodians whose practices and ideologies sustain and reproduce racial... inequalities rather than challenge them' (p.12).

The place of anti-racism in ITE is therefore very difficult to sustain. In my own college, despite a high level of commitment amongst course writers, from 1995 students will qualify from a four year ITE degree without any time specifically set aside to examine social inequality and its effects on schooling. Institutions with large cores of staff with experience of anti-racist schooling may be able to avoid the dangers of invisible permeation as described by Swann, CATE and ARTEN, especially if students' experience of multiracial schools keeps the issue alive, but this pressure is absent in largely white areas, and everywhere has to do without the high level support of the mid-1980s.

Conclusions

The seven propositions I advanced about school change can be tailored slightly to refer to the focus of this chapter. Anti-racist change in ITE:

- takes time;
- needs pressure, ideally at several levels at once;
- involves risks and so creates anxiety, uncertainty and the need for support, in students as much as staff;

- requires deep and shared understanding of the change on the part of teachers and students involving a spiral of reflective learning;
- is helped or hindered by the climate and micropolitical features of the establishment;
- almost always needs the clear support of senior staff;
- can be nurtured and legitimated, or undermined, by key players like the surrounding LEA.

I have dwelled upon pressure, particularly from powerful outside agencies, because it seems to me to have been crucial in creating formal space and providing a hearing for anti-racism. At times, through CNAA, HMI, external examining and other locations and levels of influence, individual anti-racists have been able to exert pressure. The same is true of the changes in the opposite direction. High level legitimation and policy created a considerable change in the formal content of ITE with regard to 'race', then a change at the same level did a great deal to reverse it.

My own institution (which cannot have been unique) was affected by key local players (the LEA, which in our case was hostile), by national policies, but also by its own climate, micropolitics (the importance of ITE) and the supportive stance taken by key senior staff. These all echo the importance of the same factors in school settings.

As for time, the relatively short period in which anti-racism enjoyed some legitimacy in ITE could not, on the evidence from the schools, have allowed the development of the 'deep and shared understanding of the change on the part of teachers', which I have suggested is necessary. Though I suggested earlier that lecturers' minds may be easier to change, it seems unlikely that the change was deep and widespread enough to maintain continuing (and evolving) permeation. RAT aside, support proved to be inadequate for the long term monitoring and offering of

suggestions to courses, since this was essentially voluntary activity undertaken by volunteers on the academic board's group.

In chapter 4 it became very clear that we cannot speak of educational change unless something changes for students. I would contend that as a result of concern about 'race' (if not explicit anti-racism) courses came into existence in much of ITE which had not been there before. The consequent change on the part of the learners themselves, the students, with the attendant risks, anxieties and necessary time scale for individuals, is explored in chapter 10. There I shall argue that despite the pessimistic tone of this chapter, with its accounts of apparent advances followed by reversals, the evidence suggests that the pressure produced real results.

Footnotes

1. My observations here are drawn from course documentation, some interviews, diaries, evaluations, policy drafts and final versions, notes and minutes of working parties and formal committees, correspondence with other institutions, conferences, and meetings of ARTEN. All of these date from January 1985 when I was appointed 'Lecturer in Racial Equality', having held a similar post for a year in another college.

2. One device we developed to illustrate this was a series of questions. One asked what were the commonest goods traded in Timbuctu in the 1500s? The answer - books - surprises almost everyone since it is not our usual image of Africa. Another asked why black footballers get bananas (not oranges) thrown at them by hostile spectators. The racist association between black people and monkeys was pointed to as part of the cultural racism most British have grown up with. A third question - referred to in chapter 3 - asked students to consider what kinds of things they heard people say about black and Asian people. The comments were always almost entirely negative, maybe abusive, so from their own pens/mouths students demonstrated the prevalence of racist attitudes in their own experiences.

PART FIVE: OUTCOMES AND FUTURES

Chapter 10

'If it's not hurting it's not working'

This chapter revisits many earlier themes about the pervasiveness of racism and the difficulties of engaging with it in education. The focus is a group of 17 primary school student teachers, all women and mostly aged between 18 and 25 during their four year BEd in my own college. The majority - twelve - had grown up in largely white areas, had seldom had personal encounters with ethnic minorities, and few recalled coming to college with a particular interest in the issue of 'race'. The findings which emerge from interview, questionnaire and other data[1] elicited from the students can be summarised as follows:

a) during their ITE there was considerable **conflict between students** (including some of the group) **and staff** within specific courses focussing on 'race' (on grounds such as 'extremism', irrelevance, 'anti-white bias' etc). Hostility towards particular members of staff persisted long after the specific courses finished;

b) nevertheless, there was **a shift in at least five of the group towards a more 'anti-racist' stance** (elaborated on below) by the time they graduated. In their judgement this was not true of numbers of their peers in their year group;

c) five of the group seem to have begun their studies with a less defensive attitude about white racism than the others. Four of these were **the only ones later to articulate a political understanding of racism** (again, this is elaborated below).

Two key questions underlie both the practice described here and the findings:

(i) how useful (or otherwise) is the concept of 'racism' as a tool for students to evaluate (and re-evaluate) their own attitudes as well as educational practices and processes?

(ii) how do teacher educators promote a critical consciousness without merely destructive student/tutor hostility?

The Context

This chapter touches upon many personal, practical and political pressures. Students come to ITE with a wide range of experiences, orientations and personalities, as do their tutors. The formal teaching situations in which they meet are conditioned and constrained by a host of additional factors, ranging from formal government criteria, to media agendas, to teaching styles, to timetabling exigencies.

The group of 17 women on which I am concentrating here is clearly opportunistic rather than representative (though there were very few males in their cohort of 83 students). They were volunteers,in the post-exam period of their final year, responding to my request for interviewees on the subject of the 'race' courses they had experienced earlier at college. By that stage none were hostile to me or the courses (though some had been at the time), indeed they presumably had some special interest to incline them to volunteer at all. Their comments on themselves may be doubted as potentially self-serving, their comments to me as subject to an obvious (though by this stage informal) power imbalance (Oakley, 1981; Scott, 1984; 1985) and their comments on their peers as only partially informed, at best. Nevertheless, these very biases reveal something about the positioning and negotiation which take place in personal and professional discourse about racism.

It also needs to be said that few of us have views about 'race' or anything else which are fixed and immutable, an unchanging framework which structures everything we say. An integral part of the respondents' memories and their more current observations is the process of talking about them and reflecting upon them. Memory and perspective are constantly constructed and reconstructed, elaborated and changed. This talking is a part of their sense-making, not something separate. For some it may be a crucial part: it is not often that in a non-assessed, unofficial setting we spend time with individual students and systematically talk through with them what they have learned over a four year period. Perhaps that was part of their motive for volunteering[2].

This is a particularly interesting group in the way their own biographies coincide with some relevant events and currents in the past two decades. They graduated in 1991. Most were in the middle years of secondary school when the Swann Report was working towards its conclusion that Britain needed 'Education for All' (DES:1985). Most attended white schools in areas peripheral to multiracial cities or in much more ethnically isolated ones. They had been subject, knowingly or not, to policy initiatives in LEAs with regard to 'race' by the time they finished A levels, and knowingly subjected to them during ITE. In addition, they have lived through the rise and rise of the new Right with its accompanying media and political discourse of derision about anti-racism. Generally about nine or ten years old at the time of Thatcher's accession, they had their primary schooling in the unreconstructed, sloppy seventies, began secondary school around the time of the Brixton and St Paul's troubles, spent their teenage years in the Tories' post-Falklands heyday, and their young adulthood in the partial flowering of Thatcher's educational vision of a market of restored values (in which they now teach).

It is also important to note that during their ITE they were subject to a mismatch, a friction between changing currents in

government policy. We have already see that from 1984 the government in the form of CATE required ITE to address the issue of 'race' in some way. As the 1980s wore on, the same government faced demands from the new Right to remove what they saw as a pervasive and corrosive multiculturalism in education generally and this increasingly determined the media and rhetorical agenda (see Hill, 1990; Ball, 1994; Gaine, 1995). This had significant effects on National Curriculum content and as far as ITE is concerned, culminated in the effective removal of the relevant CATE requirement in 1993.

The Students

If space permitted I would include the entire transcript of one particular student. For me as a teacher interested in anti-racism she is almost too good to be true. Her interview is a linear narrative of increasing personal awareness, critical questioning, political analysis and professional reflection. She moves from schooldays in Sussex and an emergent sensitisation to racism (through 'A' level geography and reading *To Kill a Mockingbird*), to complacently truanting from a day course about racism in her first year at college, to an untraumatic acceptance of her own complicity in racism during her second year (and anger at others' resistant 'smugness'), to a critique of the implicit racism in set literary texts and a sharpened perspective on the rest of the curriculum. At one point she says:

> It's an amazing change though, because it's not just working on your mind. I mean, I don't know how this happens to a person, but before... even after reading *To Kill a Mockingbird*, having all that kind of thing, well I would still laugh at racist jokes. Now how I come to the position now, of not finding them funny... I don't know how...how I've come to that, but I have... It's actually finding it offensive, which, having been someone who laughs at them and told them and whatever... having gone to a position where you

> don't even want to smile.... And it's not as if I'm holding it in, thinking 'I shouldn't laugh at this'it's inside, I'm not laughing.... (Jane)

I do not think that this is too good to be true in the sense that she is misrepresenting herself, falsely constructing herself in a particular way (although, as I recognise above, the very process of talking is part of constructing oneself). It may be that from doing so she would gain esteem in my eyes, but she had little need of it: there was no compulsion to be interviewed, I had no means of influencing her results, we had barely met as individuals in four years and she was a week away from leaving college for good. Her own self-esteem did not need such a serious misrepresention in any obvious way: her relevant marks were excellent, her chosen dissertation topic was on exploring racism through literature, she spoke with passion, conviction and coherence.

Yet she was too good to be true in another sense. Having gone through a series of formal and planned educational experiences she had changed. She is the ideal imaginary student we teachers have in mind when designing courses: open minded, prepared to be self-critical, willing to accept challenges. The trouble is that she may be the only one for whom the courses we designed were really suited: they may have served many others rather less well....

Returning to the group as a whole, five grew up and went to school in areas adjacent to substantial black or Asian populations: fairly central Bristol, Crawley, Harrow, North London and Barking, Essex. Two were from areas on the peripheries of Southampton and Portsmouth. The remaining 10 came from a continuum of moderately to very ('racially') isolated towns: Caversham (Berks), Folkestone, Cheltenham, the Isle of Wight, Buckingham, three from Sussex, then Saffron Waldon (Essex) and Plymouth. One grew up with a widowed mother, another's was recently divorced, but all the others had grown up with both

parents.

They mostly came to college either straight from 'A' levels or after a short gap, though one had qualified and worked as a midwife in a multiracial area before beginning ITE at 23 and two were in their late 30s. Few had given very much thought to issues of 'race' or racism, except one who had made a positive decision to avoid it in her training:

> The race stuff in the Bulmershe prospectus seemed wacky to me... so I didn't apply there. It wasn't exactly something I didn't want to know, but I didn't want to come out as some idealistic teacher... you know, odd, and I thought I won't be training for London.... (Tina).

Apart from the five who grew up in 'adjacent' areas, few had had any first hand contact with black or Asian people:

> I saw some at the university nearby... there was an Asian woman in the office I worked in for a while... but mostly I came across them as manual workers... (Heather).

> I had some black friends in the 6th form, one in particular, we're still in touch (Claire).

> There was a 'village' at home where overseas people came to live for a while... their children came to our school, perhaps four black children in each class. We never really seemed to mix, I don't know why.... (Angela).

Of those from 'adjacent' areas, only Megan, Tracey and Katie had gone to mixed primary and secondary schools and had had many inter-ethnic friendships. Another had contact of a sort with racism:

> Though the area was mixed I noticed that our [grammar] school had a few, maybe one or two Afro-Caribbean girls and a couple of Asians...and there was another... school down the road for that area and a lot of the, you know the blacks and the Asians went to the one down the road. <So did you notice that, at 14, 15 or whatever?> Yeah, yes I did, because....I figured it wasn't fair but I didn't know if it was the actual report system from primary school that put you into the school or whether it was the culture of the different backgrounds of people.... We noticed when we were going to school...white people going this way and black people going that way, it was weird really, the schools were so close.... (Emma).

About half had had clear racist messages from their immediate families and friends:

> Alf Garnett, that's my Dad. 'Don't ever bring a black boy home...' and things like that. He said he met someone at work the other day 'He was a Sikh in a turban, but he was a very nice man' as if it was surprising that a Sikh could be a nice man. Our neighbour moved out last year and it was 'Oh I hope we don't get Asians in next door' (Tracey).

> ....my sister's had the same experience as me yet she's incredibly racist. And members of my family wind me up, because they know my stance, so they wind me up just to see me get up on my soap box and attack them. I mean I don't know how much that is racist and how much they just want to get me going.... (Angela).

> My brother's definitely really racist, he and my sister call Asians pakis and that.. and they get away with it.... (Teresa).

> My Dad says things like you've got to get out of their way in the street, you don't know what they'll do.. He's quite bad, he really gets me going. He used to tell racist jokes when I was younger, and his friends, well now I can just walk out or make my feelings known.... He says he's just winding me up but you know really they are his views.... (Katie).

Though at least as many remembered comments and attitudes opposed to racism, either specifically or in ways they perceived as unambiguous:

> ...I was about 13, 14 ...'cos my Dad's in the same position as me, no contact or whatever [with black people] and I can remember him saying after watching something on television...saying he was ashamed to be white... and then he said, on meeting black people he feels that they have an absolute right to loath us and despise us...just on his colour, not knowing him as a person (Jane).

> I think a lot of my attitudes have grown up with Mum and Dad...not specifically them saying you shouldn't, you know...about race, just everyone was just generally accepted... though one set of grandparents are definitely racist (Claire).

> Before I was born my Dad was in America for a year, during that period when Martin Luther King was assassinated. He went into a restaurant, it was a whites only restaurant and he went in with a black friend and he was told either we can serve you and not your friend or.... And he said 'We're going, not staying'.... being told that from when you were very young...it's obvious what your Dad thinks about that sort of thing. I was about seven or eight when he told me that. This is the way my Dad is. He doesn't

> necessarily say 'Oh this is how you should treat people' ...you just see it from experience (Emma).

> There was one thing, when we were younger, before we knew better we used to use the name nignog and they just clamped down on that, I was about five or six. We were told off for that.... (Angela).

Megan described herself as 'lucky' to have grown up in a family where very close inter-ethnic friendships were the norm. She had pre-school memories of a Hindu friend of her mother's who married a white neighbour, and of another Indian who married a cousin.

> ...my mother always taught us to look for the best in people, she was always tolerant to other people, that's how, I think like my brother's got this really special relationship with an Indian, they were best man for each other....

All but four came from loosely middle class families, a handful with parents who were teachers, nurses and one clergyman. The four exceptions' families had roots in the Welsh valleys (two) and East London (two). Of those who were willing to say, seven voted Labour in 1992, four Liberal Democrat, and two Conservative. Amongst the newspapers read regularly there was no clear preference - and some rarely read one - though the Star and the Sun were more often actively disliked than the others.

Christian beliefs played a significant part for seven of the group in their attitudes towards racism, though Jane states it more firmly than anyone else:

> <Do you think your Christianity has anything to do with your attitudes?> A lot, but definitely my Christianity... upon my understanding of the Bible, whatever their experience and upbringing, people have no excuse to be racist... Once...with my fiancee,

> we'd sat down to Sunday lunch and someone was saying about 'all these Muslims wanting all these rights' and that kind of thing.... And his sister said 'Well anyway, I don't think that black people and white people will ever get on until they get to heaven...they just can't'. And, you know, we'd just come home from church where we were... Jesus and everyone is saying that the Kingdom of God is here and now.... I ***hate*** people who just sit back and wait to die for everything to be all right, you know....

The majority had grown up in churchgoing families though they had carried this into their own adulthood in varying ways. Five professed no religious beliefs at all, including the two in their thirties.

> <When you say 'You shouldn't be thinking in a racist way, are you saying that as a religious person, or ....?> Probably more moral really.... Though I suppose religion teaches you how you should treat people.... (Emma).

> I'm Church of England. I was taught in primary school 'treat other people as you'd like to be treated yourself', I was taught that particular outlook and it's managed to stick in my mind.... (Angela).

> I'm a Christian, but not actively. When people talk about Christian beliefs that doesn't really feel like me... but I try to be good to other people, that kind of thing. Mum says we'll have to start going to church, but with her night shifts (in nursing) we never seem to (Cathy).

> ....I don't conform to any religion. I don't think you can be a human being and turn a blind eye to these things (Mary).

Overall, although it was clearly important to some of the group, there was no simple correspondence between religious belief and their attitudes to racism or their response to the courses.

The courses

The college attempted to meet the CATE criterion about 'race' via the fourfold plan described in the previous chapter (an intensive one day course in year one (RAT); a compulsory ten week (15 hour) 'teaching studies' course in year two (RGC); 'permeation' of the issue through their other courses; a specialist option in their final year).

I also described in the previous chapter the model of racism (as both pervasive and structural) with which we were working and which we wanted to pass on to students as a critical tool. The were introduced to this in RAT and we began RGC by revisiting it using two resources, both tape/slide packages: *The Enemy Within* (Catholic Commission for Racial Justice, 1982) and *Recognising Racism* (Birmingham LEA, 1983). Their provenance would not suggest to most people that their content was radical, anti-white, or deliberately designed to antagonise, though they had that effect on many: 'I was very angry...that first session was awful.. that dreadful slideshow' (Barbara). The first contains a black academic saying 'What I really don't know what to do with is liberal racism. I don't know where it's going to hit me...' The second, more often remembered, has the white middle-aged male narrator saying 'It took me a while to realise that I was something of a racist myself... and it's likely that you are too, if you're white'.

This rooting of racism in ordinary people's everyday consciousness and actions is profoundly threatening: we expected students to find it hard to chew though not ultimately indigestible. At a rational level one can hedge such an exercise about with assurances that racist ideas and images - racist frames of reference - are taken on unconsciously (as both courses

and the RAT trainers took pains to do) but it is hard for students not to feel accused by it. Most did, and most were angry about it.

Reactions

> I...remember people at the time really hated you because they felt so antagonised... We all felt that you thought we were all racists.... (Heather).

> I did feel a bit wound up... well... partly because I walked in there and you felt you were being told you were a racist... and although then, well my back just got up and I didn't feel very good about it. So that wound me up a bit.... <Was it actually said?> I don't think it was said like that, totally out, you know, 'you are a racist', but it was partly implied.... I think other people... went away and they just shut off their mind totally because they just thought 'Well, that's it. They're just some sort of extreme. They think we're racist so that's it' (Emma).

> I got the feeling (the black trainer) was saying we're all racist... I think a lot of people were annoyed. I remember you saying we're all racist... In the first few lectures I was angry, all I could see was how is this relevant to me? I felt threatened, angry... You gave the impression we were intentionally racist.... (Tina).

Whatever our intentions it is clear here that students picked up our implicit assumptions and read them almost as accusations of intentional, consciously chosen racism on their part. They were angry, though generally not confident enough to make a public challenge. Some wondered if it was a deliberate provocative stance on our part, some, apparently, stopped listening in self-defence:

I would have lynched him <black trainer>... and I was very angry with you at first... I thought he was very offensive. I felt that in his efforts to try and prove the point he actually made everyone more hostile, instead of open. Perhaps its the way I react to things, but if someone sort of attacks me my immediate reaction would be defence.... It was quite a volatile day, I can tell you (Barbara).

<You felt hostile because you felt implicitly accused?> Yes, yes very much so, guilty before I opened my mouth (Linda).

...it was assumed [in RAT] that we were racist and that we needed to be... to have that taken away from us. I mean I've always been violently anti-racist. <So you felt insulted?> Not necessarily insulted, just felt that it was a waste of time. Some of it was interesting but... <Were you told you were all racist or did you feel it was assumed?> It was an assumption (Angela).

...you showed a film which more or less said that all white people are racist, just by definition. That really got people's backs up. It even got.. even I thought it was a bit... you know, I wasn't sure about this, and I'm quite liberal, compared to a lot of people here. I know it made a lot of people very angry watching that, and because that was near the start it soured the whole course for some people, they immediately felt threatened and they had to get their backs up and protect themselves.... (Tracey).

I was uncomfortable in RAT, in the RGC I just felt angry... perhaps you did it just to get people's backs up, them being told they were racist (Pat).

Indeed Pat referred to this, unprompted, in the follow-up questionnaires, seven years after the course:

> I didn't like the way the way the tutors branded us as racists in our first lecture...

Some students suggested that part of the hostility was merely or largely defensive/reactive (like Barbara and Tracey above) and likely to wear off as the cognitive message sunk in:

> I think that a lot of people, that if you provoke them in a way they don't see that you're challenging them to think, they think you're having a go at them.... (Cathy).

These are mostly comments about their own reactions, but without exception the students testified to a general climate of resentment, discussed and referred to well away from the timetabled teaching slots, often merging a demonisation of myself as 'Mr Anti-Racism' with media-fuelled paranoia about what would now be called authoritarian political correctness. Rumours were rife about likely sanctions against transgressors:

> There was a rumour that if you turned out to be racist you were going to be taken off the course (Mary).

> Some people thought if you said the wrong thing the college would throw you out (Laura).

> People said things like 'If you wear a black jacket CG will complain' (Tina).

Some became less angry as time went on, moving to a partial acceptance of the idea of a pervasive, sometimes unconscious racism in white people:

> At the time <in year one>, I would have said I wasn't

racist, but there were lots of things I hadn't considered... (Laura).

I put to some of the later interviewees, including Laura, that others had said with hindsight, that they did have racist ideas which needed challenging. She was silent for a long time at this point then simply said 'I think that's very brave..... Some people don't like to admit that they actually are racist, depending on how you see yourself, I don't see myself as racist...' Others, as Laura said, were brave:

> ...at the time I thought 'Load of rubbish', you know, 'He doesn't know what he's talking about...' and then I thought about it, and I thought about the people I'd come in contact with for most of my life and I thought well possibly, well you know I'm as guilty of that as anybody else. The course on race was very difficult because I had to really rethink my whole... all my ideas.... I remember the turning point. I went home and I remember having an argument, well... a discussion with my parents, so I was obviously stewing things over a lot. I didn't feel discomfort by the end of the course because by that time I'd actually begun to really question... what I'm doing here (Barbara).

> ...and then I got to gradually thinking, hang on, all this racist stuff isn't as cut and dried as I think it is (Linda).

> Yes it was traumatic, because it stirs up the very feelings that you've got, your feelings might be wrong or something... The turning point was when [another lecturer] gave one of the lectures, cleverly, she knew we were getting angry, she gave us a talk which made us not feel bad... she said none of us want to be racist... we're on a path. So instead of feeling

we're all being racist we were also trying not to be racist. It wasn't condescending because of the way she said it. I think that defused the situation, or definitely did for me anyway. I don't know, it was an eye opener... this course was actually delving into how you were as a person... it was uncomfortable because you have to re-examine yourself (Pat).

Unless you really sort of confronted the issue then it's sort of... actually confronting it will really make it clear in your mind.... That was the kind of thing that came across in the lectures. At the beginning you know, some people may say they're not racist but it's... they do small things perhaps, and you do it unconsciously... That kind of thing.... I saw the course as being in a way provoking people to think about how they actually feel and whether they can...whether they did do little things (Cathy).

...yes there was one session when we were talking about all of us being racist in one way or the other and not actually being able to admit that to ourselves... and an awful lot of people walked out of that thinking 'How dare he think I'm a racist?' <How did you feel about that?> Well, at that time I wouldn't have thought I was! (laughter)... but I've got some racist ideas inside the way most people have. I think it was of benefit to me and the fact that I was actually waking up to the fact that I am a racist, and I know I think I'm better equipped to deal with that myself.... (Mary).

In RGC was when I got the feeling that... of realising that there was more to it. I couldn't just sit back and say 'Oh yes, equality for everyone'. That's when it first hit me (Claire).

> In a way it worked for me because it totally shocked me I think... so it worked quite well. Afterwards I realised how you tend to fix certain ideas about certain races, then attach that idea to everybody in that culture or in that race, regardless.... I can see that now but I didn't at the time. And I think I've got less resentful as I've gone through college really.... Yes, I suppose I was a bit resentful at the beginning. It opened my eyes a little bit because I.. I don't think I was exactly patronising, that's not exactly the right word, but...almost (Emma).

Laura's phrase 'how you see yourself' is apposite, since the mix of intellectual and emotional challenges clearly struck at the students' sense of themselves. What stands out in these comments is the very personal shifts they describe: 'I had to rethink ...all my ideas'; '... you have to re-examine yourself'; 'I was waking up to the fact that I...'; '..That's when it hit me'; 'It opened my eyes.' They were only able to assimilate the concept of racism which underpinned the course by modifying their own self-concept. In one sense as course leader I knew this perfectly well, though with hindsight the scale of change at which we were aiming, in individual terms let alone multiplying that by 80, was formidable. Nevertheless, some did achieve this shift in their sense of themselves. Emma observes :

> I suppose I must have felt superior in some sort of way... By the time the second year course had started I had accepted that... I was eager to learn then.

Apart from the comments above about insight and perspective, many did identify what they had learned in terms of factual details, especially in RGC. Cultural and linguistic complexities are often referred to, as are key facts about immigration:

> I thought it was good experience... when they suddenly asked you how many percent of the population were

> actually from ethnic minorities I said... sort of... about 50%. So from that point of view it was good... (Emma).
>
> <So how long did the resentment last... four years?> (...laughter..) I can actually remember.. there are certain sessions that we did in RGC that I remember being very very interested in ... You did one on the Indian sub-continent didn't you? Now that I found very interesting, and the one on the Red American Indians [sic] was another one where I was actually mesmerised (Barbara).
>
> We could see the need to be told about the different cultures and everything, we needed the information.... We had to get into pairs and discuss any time we'd come into contact with racism... and some discussion about knowing what to call, how to describe a person, whether it was black... coloured. The names are a stumbling block for a lot of people....(Angela).

As for the rest of the cohort, while all the interviewees felt the hostility had diminished - 'Between then and now the feelings have died' (Angela), 'The hostility had definitely lessened by the end of the course, definitely...' (Emma), most nonetheless felt it was still present, there was still a core of students who felt more irritated than informed: 'I think there are some who are still hostile' (Mary).

My diary accounts, the interviews and the judgement of the staff on the course all suggest that while the courses were in progress the majority of students felt angry and accused (while we felt battered, demoralised and the targets of considerable hostility). Some of the flavour comes over in the extracts quoted. In others, words like hostile, antagonistic, resentful and tense occur often. Yet, contrary to what many students thought, we did not set out to antagonise them. The core tutors and all the

visiting RAT trainers, had substantial experience of anti-racist work. We were all steeped in accounts and experiences of pervasive overt and subtle racism, but we were also used to judging the starting points of groups we worked with (or we thought we were). We were all heavily involved professionally and personally in combatting racism, but we were all teachers too and were acutely aware that people do not learn when they feel attacked. We were consciously toning down the analysis and the passion we used elsewhere, but for some students, apparently, it was still clearly too much and the idea that they were, for instance,not being blamed for racism was not effectively conveyed.

It seems we failed to convey something else, too. A further tenet of the model of racism we employed was that relative to black and Asian people white people and institutions have power. This again defined racism as more than personal prejudice, it made a point about its location in social structures (and hence not everyone is individually responsible for its creation). Though this is a somewhat crude colour/racial dualism, we wanted to make the point that there was a sense in which almost all white people were implicated in racism insofar as they participated in or benefitted from personal attitudes, cultural assumptions, institutional procedures and societal structures which disadvantage, oppress or demean black and Asian people.

Most of the students thought we were saying that they were irredeemable racists while black and Asian people had no prejudices about anyone. For only four of the group an analysis of racism in terms of power either made emergent sense at the time or struck home quietly as time went on:

> The thing about power, racism being a combination of power and prejudice, I think it was the power thing that stuck in my mind, then it twigged, it really seemed to twig. I was really ignorant about racism and everything, well I still am - I still consider

> myself a liberal racist, though I don't want to be. <Some said they felt accused of being racists when they felt they weren't.> But that's the whole point isn't it? I expect they do believe they don't want to be racist and therefore they're not, but you can't help it.... (Teresa).
>
> I think you have to accept what whites have done, the prejudice and everything. I think that's quite a big thing to do, then once you've done that you can view things... I don't think a lot of people felt like that though (Katie).
>
> ...to be honest I know I'm a racist in the fact of who I am, I can't help that for the fact that white people have power... if that's your definition of what racism is (Megan).

These four expressed no memory of feeling unfairly accused in the taught courses and they also volunteered greater factual recall of details of particular sessions than the rest of the group. They also all signalled annoyance, frustration or impatience with - in their view - most other students, though they felt the fissure widen at different times:

> <Do you remember any reactions you had to the RGC course?> Lots really. I can remember myself being very, very angry about a lot of the things which went on, but not about the course, about people's reactions to the course... especially because people got so uptight, and were, sort of talking along the lines of 'How dare you stand up there and call us racists'. Really, for myself I had absolutely no trouble whatsoever believing that I was racist and believing that everyone else in the room was racist...and I was angry at their ...this sounds so arrogant... what I call their naivety and their stupidness to honestly

believe that they weren't.... I mean, they were all brought up like me, most of them, weren't they? They come to this college which has hardly any black students, so I just naturally assumed that they'd had the same exposure to things as I have and if I can freely admit I'm racist why can't they? And I used to get so cross with how arrogant they were, that there was nothing wrong with their views or how they behaved, such a stubbornness, you know they all, they wrote off your course.... In a sense a lot of people made up their minds not to learn or not to even go! I couldn't believe some of the things that were being said, to be honest, really... such hostility, defensiveness. I can remember being so angry with ____, at some of the rubbish... what I considered rubbish... she was talking. I can remember being so angry... (Jane).

It's difficult to say, but the more middle class they are outwardly the more hostile they seem to be to things like this.... it undermines them, I don't know. I think it caused such hostility in the second year, people were really challenged, they really had difficulty accepting they were racist liberals... A lot of the students were just downright hostile, they were ignorant about it... Their ignorance annoyed me more than anything. A lot of them went in saying we're not prepared to listen from the very start, very defensive (Teresa).

(Teresa's comment here echoes the earlier point about how students' sense of themselves was challenged, and indeed how a wider rame of reference may have been under threat.) This strong disapproval of others' attitudes was also expressed by Mary and Claire. Most of the group, whatever their initial and later reaction to the courses, did not develop this kind of analysis. Emma, while recounting her own father's positive action to get

more black churchwardens, tended to describe racism (and her response to it in school) in terms of cultural difference and unfamiliarity. And no notion of racism being about differential power (rather than simply personal prejudice) reduced the resentment Angela felt or informed her reflections three years later:

> I can remember a feeling... people didn't like the fact that just the white students were getting racial awareness training.... We felt that the overseas students...not because they're racist or anything, I'm not pointing any fingers, but we felt that they ought to get the day as well.

The decision she refers to here was complex and certainly contestable[3], but she contests it here solely from an understanding of racism as reducible to personal prejudice.

Some conclusions about ITE

Course design and teaching methods.

The main conclusions to be drawn from the material discussed thus far point in two different directions as regards sensitisation to racism and the engendering of a professional commitment to work against it. The interviews suggest that the attitude shift which many of the group found traumatic during the specific courses persisted for at least two years to the end of the degree. The follow-up questionnaires expressed varying but continuing commitment to multicultural and or anti-racist work after three years of teaching (details are given later). Most continued to believe that what they perceived as a relatively confrontational approach was necessary to make them examine their own racism or ideas about racism (though there is a degree of ambivalence in some). What I (and they) cannot say is whether it was useful, or positively harmful, for the others' development:

> If you'd asked me a year ago, what you're asking me now, I might have marched in here and said 'Don't do those courses, they really create hostility because they're destructive'. But they're not destructive, are they? Because if you have...a fairly open minded individual then they will think about what you're saying. They will go away, they won't go home and just dismiss it. They will actually think about it. The trouble comes when you haven't got people that are prepared to take it on board but then it doesn't matter...if they're not going to listen they're not going to listen are they? ...So I don't know what the solution is, really (Barbara).
>
> <So was it counter-productive?> No I don't think so, not really, because I think it made people really sit up and think and I suppose you can turn people off by hitting them too hard or something but I think it made people more... examine their own views. It made me examine my own views.... If you hit them hard even though you're making them angry and you're making them feel threatened, at least they're starting to think about the issues... <Others say if you hit people that hard the shutters go down...> Yeah it could work the other way..yeah... (Tracey).

It is perhaps worth reiterating that the staff's intention was not to be confrontational or intimidating, though that is scarcely credible given some of the accounts. One reading of the data is that the material is inherently threatening however it is presented and is bound to produce negative reactions, as Mary suggests:

> I think the whole idea of race freaks people out anyway... you've got so many barriers before people will talk about race in any honest way.

If this were the case then arguably hostility would be only be avoided by avoiding the issue of white racism. I put this to Claire:

> <Some people would say, sock everybody hard, and that hurts, but that it actually shakes people out of complacency and they think about it... Actually it's not my view although people usually assume it is. There's another view that you start where your learners are, ever so gently and unthreateningly...> But does that work though? Because people are often immediately threatened, or seem to be. <Well, yes. I'm not sure how you raise the issue without, I mean if you raise it without any challenge at all, then you haven't raised it.> *Yeah*, yes, that's just it.

It is hard to separate the students' reponse to feeling threatened and accused from their relative lack of confidence in speaking in groups, whatever the subject. The 'thinking aloud' which is often necessary for people to clarify and explore new ideas is doubly difficult if teaching groups are large, the students both young and new at the college, and the subject matter controversial - the self-confidence needed to speak up in these circumstances would be considerable. The odds were against many speaking at all and this must have militated against the assimilation and acceptance of new ideas:

> I know one thing was...people were worried about what they were going to say in front of you, that was definitely a thing, you know... you can't say what you think.... (Claire).
>
> I think there was a lot of...people who sort of felt 'Oh I'm not going to say anything because if I say anything it might be taken the wrong way' (Cathy).
>
> Another girl... she said 'I'm just keeping my mouth

> shut'.... I think a lot of the younger students like to think they have the right views and aren't confident enough to speak out.... (Barbara).

In practice, changes were introduced in RGC. By the following year there were far fewer large group sessions with such potential for oppositional feelings, and less analysis of racism. The atmosphere was nothing like so fraught and hostile. On the other hand, fewer students in subsequent cohorts chose the optional 'race' course in year four, giving at least tentative support to the theory that if the students were not challenged, then they were not stimulated either. I began these interviews initially because from this year group, from whom colleagues and 'race' courses had taken quite a beating, 30% chose the final year 'race' option (in preference to seven others).

Staffing

In practice, course design and teaching methods have a good deal to do with who is doing the teaching. Most of the hostility was remembered by the interviewees as being directed at me as course leader and as the person 'fronting' most sessions, indeed, only three other college staff are even mentioned in the interviews (apart from the RAT visitors). My position as the most visible target aside, I have no way of judging the personal dimension in this hostility. I clearly intimidated many but I do not know if this is simply because I personified the issue or whether the issue became merely personalised. For the interviewees it was the former:

> <Do you remember the hostility as being mostly at me?> Sitting here now I can't even remember who the other tutors *were*. But don't you think that being hostile to particular tutors is only an excuse for something else? <Like...?> Well, their own...defensiveness.... (Jane).

> We all needed someone to attack because we felt so attacked (Angela).

But they may be wrong. There may be some way of promoting perceptive critiques without provoking personal criticism. If staff are seen to care 'too much' about the issue, or too easily constructed as 'extreme', they may thereby provide an escape route for those who want one. On the other hand, they may care 'too little' and take such steps to be 'objective' and distant that such a course touches no-one in the way - by some students' own accounts - it needs to. There is no easy answer to this dilemma - which also arose in chapter 7 - it is simply one which teachers have to live with, it is the change-agent's paradox.

The issue of permanent black or Asian staff (who might well be perceived as caring 'too much') was only raised directly by one interviewee, though it was often discussed with the visiting black and Asian trainers. Given the strength of feeling revealed in this chapter, they were usually glad to get away (though evaluations showed that while some students felt threatened, others found them very enabling). The prospect of being a permanent black member of staff fronting such work in a largely white institution, being the resident and obvious target for hostility and walking the consequent personal and professional tightrope, was not one which appealed. It may sound trite to say that white racism is a white problem, but it is scarcely an anti-racist move simply to employ one or two black staff, at least not to work on this kind of course.

Patterns

In the interviews I tried to explore individual trajectories and where students' individual agendas came from, though the nature of such an exercise precludes any firm conclusions. The group falls into two distinct sub-groups. A widespread feeling of anger and outrage at the perceived accusation levelled at them all was reported by the first of these, except that for the most

part they did not include themselves in it. There are good reasons to believe them. Their memories of the RAT and of RGC tended to be more specific, they remembered content, they remembered (accurately) specific things staff or the visiting trainers said and recalled specific lines of argument or analysis. Their memories were both more specific and more positive than the others'. They also used different language about themselves and about racism: they had a more political understanding of racism and owned their own racist socialisation and assumptions much more readily. The clearest example of this is Jane, but there is also Teresa 'It was the power thing that stuck in my mind.... I still consider myself a liberal racist'; Megan: 'I know I'm a racist.... white people have power' and Katie 'you have to accept what white people have done'. In the follow-up questionnaires two of these, Jane and Teresa, asserted how different their attitudes were to when they began college.

The second, larger sub-group remembered annoyance, irritation, even hurt, over three years later about feeling 'accused' of racism (and seven years later in Pat's case). Many remembered little or nothing of the factual content of a course lasting weeks, but they remembered negative emotions. They also reported how widespread they felt this reaction was among their colleagues. All but two tacitly or explicitly acknowledged some shift in their own attitudes and a recognition that some of their initial anger had been defensiveness. They tended to have an individualist view of racism as personal prejudice. Interestingly, in the questionnaires Pat and Laura continued to acknowledge a major shift in their own attitudes, while the others indicated that they felt 'pretty much the same' as when they began college.

There may be a further sub-group to be drawn from these who could almost be called indifferent, though they are more likely to be found amongst non-interviewees in the rest of the cohort. By definition I could not interview any and can only speculate about them. They would, presumably, have been stirred into anger in

the way most of the interviewed group describe, but would not perhaps have re-evaluated their own views to the same extent. There is an obvious logic in suggesting this sub-group since there is a continuum of response even amongst my relatively few volunteers, and many of the interviewees characterise themselves as more concerned about 'race' than some of their friends.

I suspect there was probably yet another, fourth, sub-group of students who were actually hostile, who recognised much of what we were saying about white racism from the inside and were not inclined to let go of it. This again is a logical possibility, there are hints of their existence in what several of the interviewees said, and it certainly accords with my observations and experience of ten years' teaching in ITE. It is impossible to estimate the relative sizes of these four sub-groups, and my attempts to elicit such judgements from the interviewees produced wide variations.

This description of the four groups places some emphasis on their emotional reactions. If we focus instead on their overall orientations they can be represented diagrammatically thus:

Structuralist

	Hostile There are groups of people in Britain defined by skin colour who have different life chances, but we shouldn't pay attention to it: it makes it worse/ that's just the way it is/ that's the way it should be...	*Anti-racist* There are groups of people in Britain defined by skin colour who have different life chances, and this racism must be recognised and dealt with in some way in school...
Take no Action	*Indifferent* People are just people, just individuals, and thinking in categories like 'race' (or class, or gender) or the possible constraints or advantages which may flow from them is not really how I see my role as a teacher...	*Anti-prejudice* Personal prejudice is wrong, people ought to be thought of as just individuals. Doing so would bring about a kind of individualist harmony. Educationally, positive action should be taken so that this is encouraged...

Take Action

Individualist

In terms of the models of the teacher described in chapter 9, only the orientation I describe above as 'anti-racist' would qualify either as the reflective practitioner (in Pollard's and Tann's sense) or as Giroux's transformative intellectual. The 'anti-prejudice' stance would probably be rhetorically identified by Hill with the soft, centrist, 'not identifiably left' reflective practitioner, but to do so would not be consistent with Pollard's and Tann's definition as discussed in chapter 9. It nevertheless represents a real group of people and a potential 'stance' about what it is to be a teacher who takes social action. The group I have characterised as 'hostile' are the closest to the formal position of some on the Right, especially those who view an exclusive sense of Englishness as natural, fitting, and indeed essential to the survival of the 'nation'. They may not articulate it as such, but it is a key part of a racist frame of reference. The 'indifferent' orientation is closest to the narrow, technicist conception of the role of the teacher espoused by those who wish to decrease the influence of higher education in ITE, who see teaching as a craft to which one can be apprenticed, and in which there is an emphasis on 'basic subject teaching, not courses in the theory of education'. Such teachers, of course, 'should learn to teach children how to read, not waste their time on the politics of race, gender and class' (Major, 1992).

Predispositions?

I would very tentatively suggest that most of the interviewees and certainly the first sub-group, were not typical in their approach to 'race' and perhaps inequality generally. From their families, some had had consistent or at least clear positive messages about 'race' (Megan, Angela, Jane and Emma) or more generally about caring about people and treating them fairly (Claire, Cathy and Mary) sometimes with a strong moral/religious core (Claire, Megan, Jane and Emma). Two of the four who had a political analysis mentioned a strong emphasis at home of discussion and listening (Jane and Katie).

Some had kinds of minority or marginalising experiences themselves: an Italian father who spoke little English (Teresa); discovering she was adopted and possibly Jewish, as well as being one of the few working class students in the BEd (Tracey); working as a female carpenter before taking up 'A' levels at twenty (Louise). Emma is the daughter of a poorly paid vicar in a very comfortable middle class area; Heather left grammar school at 16 tired of being labelled as less worthy of interest because she was not Oxbridge material; Linda's parents badly wanted sons so she recalls consciously following male role-models; Megan remembers her Welsh accent being mercilessly mocked in an English school; she and Katie came from bilingual (Welsh) families. A disproportionate number were breaking female stereotypes in their main subject and felt it: seven in maths (Tina Angela, Louise, Teresa, Cathy, Laura and Emma) - there were only 12 in the whole year group - and two in science (Mary and Barbara). In various ways and to varying degrees, perhaps these women had experienced being positioned as 'other', outside of the mainstream.[4]

Two others, who experienced a shift in views after the initial anger, also had biographical influences which may be significant: Heather's black boyfriend was heavily disapproved of by some of her family; Tina's sister, in a very Christian family, married a Jew. All of these things, while clearly not necessarily connected with wider social attitudes, in these cases may have facilitated a wider concern, awareness or willingness to question received wisdom - and oneself. This is speculative, I have not interviewed all their contemporaries, but years of association with students as their teacher or personal tutor suggests to me that the biographies of many of the group may have been a predisposing factor towards their greater acceptance and capability to learn from the 'race' courses.

In one sense my findings confirm some very obvious truisms about teaching and illustrate another of the Berlaks' curriculum dilemmas: treating learners as unique or as broadly similar. Students are all individuals, with different starting points,

perspectives, needs, emotional orientations to different topics, and a range of different other influences upon them. On the one hand teachers and lecturers know this, and yet many of those responsible for the curriculum, from CATE to individual course planners, specify content, hourages and the learning styles implicit in the organisation of teaching. I am not arguing that this could easily be otherwise: it takes very flexible, imaginative and well resourced teaching to treat students as individual learners. Practicalities seem to dictate that we have to employ economies of scale and consequent assumptions about students starting in approximately the same place and having similar sorts of learning trajectories to undergo.

The trouble is that they do not. I would suggest that more useful learning may have taken place had we addressed individual agendas much more sensitively. The background factors which I asked about and which were disclosed do not enable us to distinguish between the first two sub-groups identified above, but they may in theory, mark them off from many of their peers. If we were to address individual learning agendas more sensitively these might be the kinds of experiences and issues to explore in devising more individualised or targeted learning programmes. Other things being equal, this is the direction I would take, the kind of 'pattern of resolution' to this dilemma which I would aim at. The irony of all this is that, in practice, the courses studied here exist no more. The government has prescribed hourages for other courses and time to be spent in school, so there is no room in the college timetable. Whatever challenges with regard to 'race' the students may receive in future are left to permeation and school placements, though as the interviews reveal, they provided few in the past.

A longer term view

Whatever students do and say whilst at college, their practice as teachers will be mediated by a host of new factors. To gain some impression of how their thinking and practice had developed

I contacted the group again four years after they graduated[5] with a questionnaire.

The first issue I wanted to raise was whether, with all the other demands on them, they found it hard to develop a multicultural/ anti-racist perspective in their teaching. About half were finding it fairly hard, the rest rather easier. I scored their responses on agree/disagree statements[6] and hard or not, eight stated that such a perspective came naturally into their teaching while only two were not finding this (agreement score 37 from a possible maximum of 60). Bearing in mind that they were mostly working in isolated or peripheral white schools, the seductive effect of a climate of 'no problem here' was also of interest. All disagreed that 'whatever I used to think, issues of "race" and culture don't seem relevant here' (score:17) and strongly disagreed with 'I am fairly indifferent/inactive about this issue these days' (score:19).

An obvious test of this would be the extent to which they, despite any contrary pressures like time (mentioned by several) 'really work at producing an anti-racist/multicultural environment'. This statement produced an agreement score of 50.

It would be unwise to take these replies too literally. Here was the opportunity to represent oneself to a former tutor who has taken the trouble to make contact, in relation to his special interest. Given that these were not anonymous replies it is hardly likely that a teacher who has become entirely indifferent to racism would return such a questionnaire saying so - they probably would not return it at all (if they had become positively antagonistic to my concerns they would probably not put such sentiments into writing and hence would not reply either). The respondents may have exaggerated their continuing interest, either through simply being co-operative or a wish to be 'loyal' to me. Sceptics might also doubt the extent to which the claimed commitment is put into practice, after all, few of us could claim to achieve all that we would like. While I can,

therefore, make no unassailable claims about these teachers' practice, I nevertheless think it would be an extreme scepticism which discounted all their replies. At the very least they indicate that some interest and commitment is still present.

As regards their experiences in their schools, eight reported specific incidents which 'highlighted the importance of teachers thinking about "race"' (such as examples of pupil or parental attitudes). Ten had had explicit and sometimes strong encouragement from their head teachers 'to develop work to do with "race" and culture' and no heads had been discouraging. Only two had experienced hostility and/or specific discouragement from a more experienced colleague, compared to five who had been encouraged, and six who had found support from other NQTs. On the other hand, while one or two were in schools with a climate clearly and explicitly positive about these issues, meeting interest from colleagues when they raised it, seven met indifference (score:31) and sometimes puzzlement.

They were also asked for brief reflections on their 'race' courses at college. 'My attitudes today about "race" and multicultural education are pretty much the same as when I left college' scored 57 and there was a range of open-ended comments:

> ...reaffirmed my feelings on the issue and gave me the knowledge and background to produce strong arguments for multicultural education and against all forms of racism. Certain things stay with me... most importantly, the need that was emphasised so strongly to bring in multicultural education and combat racism in so-called 'white' schools (Katie).
>
> ...it gave me valuable detail on other cultures/ religions... (Emma).
>
> ...provided me with excellent professional advice... was a useful and practical course that gave me greater

> insight and understanding.... The little I have taken from the 'race' course has gone a long, long way in my teaching and I feel that it has served me well... (Teresa).
>
> The challenge brought to my thinking has lasted. They have had a valuable input into who I am and what I do today (Jane).
>
> ...certainly raised my awareness and helped me distinguish between anti-racist and multi-cultural... (Angela).
>
> ...helped students to realise that 'race' is an issue which needs to be addressed rather than ignoring it... (Megan).
>
> ...above all made me aware of racist attitudes in myself and others. By being aware I was able to deal with it. The courses gave me the confidence to plan work on other cultures... (Pat).
>
> ...an important way of addressing one's own beliefs and prejudices... (Mary).

These seem to me to give further weight to my assertion earlier that there was continuing commitment and interest.

Space was also given for open-ended advice or comments to student teachers. The one respondent in a multiracial school (Tracey) wrote a lot here, both about the positive benefits in terms of enjoyment but also the negative pressure from right-wing activity (her school is in East London). However, all the rest in their white schools were universally positive about the need for multicultural/ anti-racist work:

> If your prime concern is the interests of the child...

then you cannot fail to address anti-racist education (Teresa).

...vital in providing children we teach with a sound balanced education and outlook on life... (Claire).

Keep hold of your ideals... (Katie).

It is imperative for pupils that they receive input of this kind... (Jane).

Some offered tactical advice too, about effectively integrating issues throughout the curriculum, setting realisable goals, not expecting instant results and tailoring ideals to the local climate.

Conclusion

Despite the obvious limitations of this research and the database the material presented here raises, in my view, a number of significant and substantive issues about racism, anti-racism and the role of ITE. At the beginning I raised two questions:

(i) how useful (or otherwise) is the concept of 'racism' as a tool for students to evaluate (and re-evaluate) their own attitudes as well as educational practices and processes?

(ii) how do teacher educators promote a critical consciousness without merely destructive student/tutor hostility?

In the work described here the notion of racism employed was both personal and political, and all the more difficult to handle as a result. We were unambiguous in rooting the courses in an understanding of racism which challenged more comfortable ideas of it being distant, psychologically aberrant and 'extreme'. It seemed to us that this was an essential intellectual tool for

students if they were effectively to examine existing and past practices and to reflect creatively on their own. If the tool is passed on to students I would want to argue that it is both illuminative and dynamic: it is useful to them in becoming reflective and critical practitioners and it can be used in many situations over a long period (it does not wear out). The testimony of a minority of the group support this.

On the other hand, this theoretical underpinning produced conflict and hostility, some of it, arguably, merely destructive. This is primarily a question of effective teaching and the answers may lie at least as much in administrative arrangements which are sensitive to students' needs as they do in teacher expertise and knowledge. The dilemma is about challenge without attack, provoking without hurting, leading without forcing, and it may be that this cannot be done in year cohorts lumped together for convenience and in disregard of their individual starting points.

The effective removal of the courses considered here by newer government stipulations about content and hourages is not something I welcome. Nevertheless, there is scope for some optimism in the findings from this group. Despite (possibly) being in a minority at college and despite entering teaching in a difficult and demanding period, these teachers have not met hostility or resistance to their anti-racist commitment, which they claim is not diminished. Perhaps the Right were right to object to such work in ITE, perhaps, for some, it worked.

Footnotes

1. The group were interviewed in depth towards the end of their BEd course about particular key moments in their own thinking about 'race' and racism and about course structure and provision. They completed questionnaires three years after they had begun work as teachers in various largely white primary schools. The issues raised in the interviews were generated from some course evaluations, notes of conversations with colleagues and diaries I kept as course leader.

2. The interviews took place in my office, in informal seating and took the form of hour-long focused conversations (which were taped). There was no set order of questions, though the sequence tended to be related to the sequence of their own lives. The names used here are not their real names.

3. My rationale for allowing the handful of black and Asian students the right not to attend was that it would unfairly expose them. (A similar argument could be made against requiring a solitary woman to attend a workshop on masculinity.)

4. One might argue that all have had marginalising and disempowered experiences as women, but there are two reasons why I am not exploring this here. Firstly, almost all the cohort were women, and I am trying to identify factors which distinguish *between* women. Secondly (and somewhat contradicting the thesis that experiencing one inequality helps insight into another), the group showed an extraordinary range of views about the gender elements of their course.

5. Postal questionnaires and an explanatory letter were sent to the group in the Spring term three and a half years after they began teaching. Linda proved untraceble, Mary had never entered school teaching, four did not reply. In sending the questionnaires I wanted to establish both how the group's perpectives had changed and how their experience of teaching may have affected this. They had entered teaching in the full throes of changes brought about by the National Curriculum, all but one were in largely white primary schools (showing remarkable congruence with their own schooling), and I have indicated in chapters 3, 6 and 7 that there is little to suggest that by 1991 there was widespread commitment in such schools to multicultural or anti-racist work. On the face of it, therefore, there were considerable pressures against them developing this kind of work, as new teachers, in addition to the upheavals already in progress.

6. The issues I wanted to raise were framed as agree/disagree statements on a five point scale. Given that 12 teachers replied, complete agreement of everyone with a statement would produce a score of 60, complete disagreement a score of 12. In general their responses were too scattered to be represented in this way, but in some cases I have indicated the strength of dis/agreement numerically.

Chapter 11

Conclusion: the Limits and Possibilities of Change

In chapter 2 I defined racism as:

> ...a pattern of social relations, discursive practices and structures, which have specific outcomes operating against less powerful groups defined 'racially'. It is manifested in advertising, news, documentary and fictional representations and discourses (and structured absences in such representations); in hierarchies of aesthetics and knowledge; in racialised 'everyday' language; in laws; in interpersonal encounters; in material indices like housing, health and employment; in assumptions underpinning the curriculum and educational policy; in the different ways people conceptualise and interpret the social world. It also manifests itself in the way opposition or anti-racism is handled, marginalised, trivialised, co-opted and contained, or undermined. It is not a crude expression of material interest, though at times it may seem to operate in this way. It is contradictory in its relationship with capital, elite power and privilege, and 'order'.

This is a definition which argues that racism is woven into the fabric of our social world. The point of the work examined in this thesis was to 'change the world', or at least an aspect of its education, but it should be no surprise that the threads of racism have been difficult to unravel or break. In short, the scale of change has been less than many hoped. It is probably an occupational hazard of being actively involved in change to underestimate the scale of the project, so my main concluding theme, therefore, is about the intractability, stubbornness and resilience of racism.

Initially, however, I ought to comment on just one aspect of racism's resilience: its elusively flexible legitimation. I argued in chapter 2 that post-war British racism has been mostly 'about' colour, in practice having been articulated around this particular biological signifier. I also suggested that the same was true of much of anti-racism, too. This has undergone a shift in the latter part of the 1980s and in the 1990s, so that 'culture' as defined by the Right is now the intellectual legitimation of racism. This has changed the discursive terrain in that justifications and articulations of racism in its various forms are more likely to echo this 'culturalism' than they are to reflect older, biological notions, though these are by no means exhausted. However, at the level of the classroom or the seminar room, I would suggest that essentialism prevails, and neither the biological nor the cultural form is any easier to challenge or to reduce. Both are rationalisations of frames of reference which in practice largely overlap.

However, since skin colour has been a primary signifier for anti-racist as well as racist thought, a key shift for anti-racism has been to do with complexity. The rough identification of virtually all black and Asian people with a racialised underclass is increasingly challenged, so the genuine and important distinctions identified by Modood (1992) and the 'postmodern' fragmentation identified by Rattansi and Brah (1992) need to inform work in classrooms, teacher education, in-service and policy development. Difficult though it has been for learners, a simple racial dualism is no longer enough (though it has its attractions in an archetypal 'isolated' area, where initial perceptions are likely to be more 'black' and 'white').

I am not arguing here that the essentialism of 1980s anti-racism was part of its demise. It was certainly an over-simplification, but I would argue that the teaching problems revealed in chapters 7 and 10 would not have been any less had we adopted a definition of racism which emphasised its commonalities with other oppressions or questioned the strategic essentialism of

'blackness'. It was difficult enough when it was simple. On the other hand, in the mid-1990s a teaching approach which does not problematise notions of Britishness and identity in relation to gender, sexuality, class and age as well as 'race' runs the risk of failing to engage with the perspectives and experiences of many of those being taught.

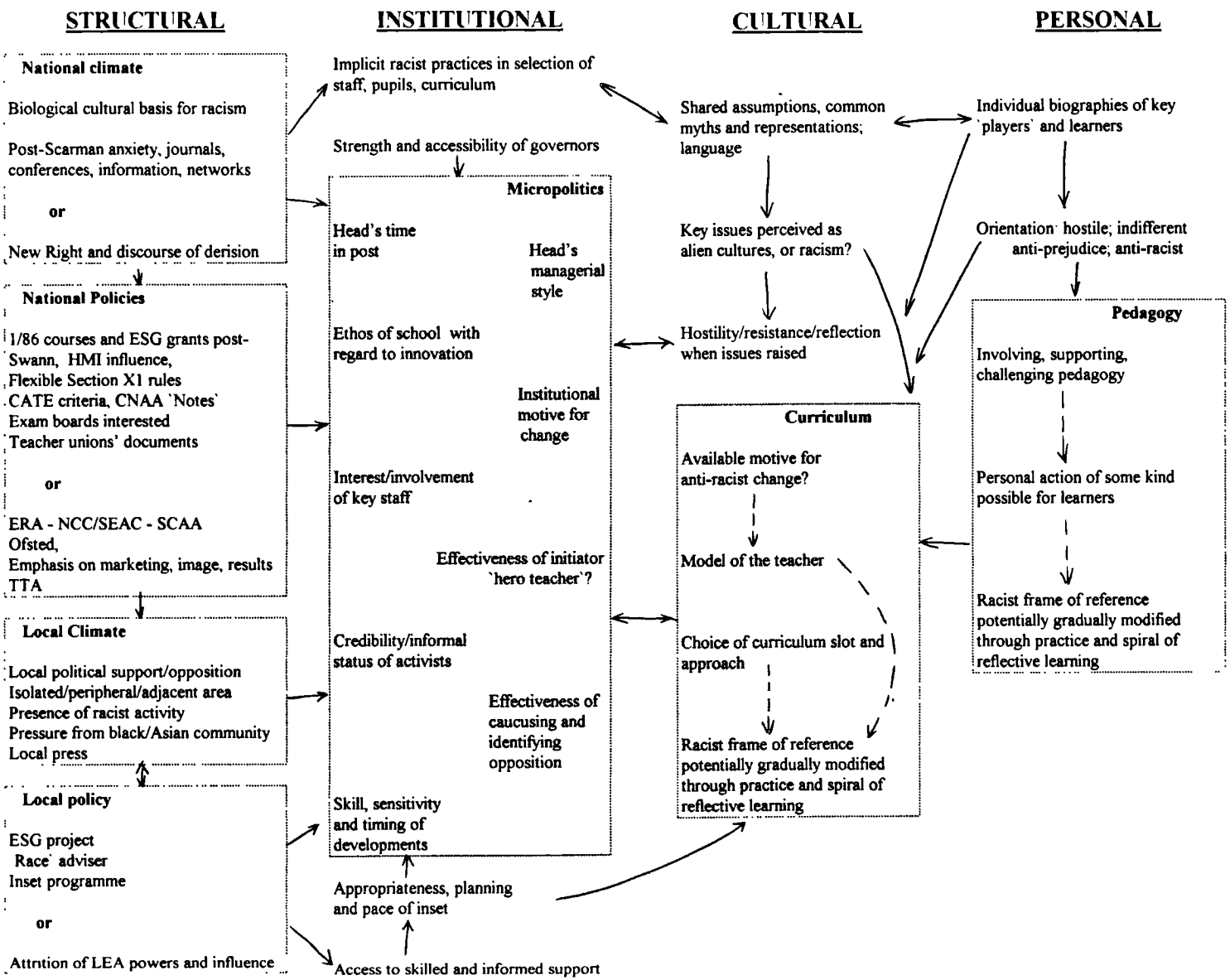
Simultaneous struggle

Educational work is work directed at people and a good deal of it is private, individualised cultural reproduction. This is especially so in white areas, where material racist practices are less evident than attitudes and discourses. Anti-racism here is a cultural and ideological struggle, fought in classrooms and LEA offices, but perhaps for the most part in staff rooms. It is a struggle against media and political discourses about conflict, 'difference' and Britishness, a racism generated and sustained by national agencies but growing and living without first-hand interaction with its victims (and alleged causes), feeding upon folk wisdom, anecdotes, 'jokes' and shared, unchallenged assumptions and established practices rooted in the past. While part of racism's resilience lies in its operation at different levels (and several of the preceding chapters illustrate a different level of racism and its own particular intransigence) to over-distinguish between different elements of racism can also obscure its simultaneous, multidimensional and sometimes contradictory operation. An encounter with a student, pupil or colleague with 'racist attitudes' is embedded in a cultural frame of reference which allows the racism to make sense, within an institution with a myriad of purposes and missions, within a society characterised by many countervailing discourses about 'race'. Movement and progress can come in fits and starts, sometimes with space at one level opening up as it closed down elsewhere.

A model of action and inertia

I have attempted to summarise the complex and multi-layered nature of anti-racism in the following model:

LEVELS OF RACISM: PRECONDITIONS AND PROCESSES OF CHANGE



It is a model of preconditions and processes. It aims to show the key elements in anti-racist change (or the lack of it) grouped as responses to different aspects of racism. The model summarises both the terrain and the kinds of change with which this thesis is concerned. It represents the pervasiveness and intractability of racism, its presence in individual frames of reference, in cultural forms, in institutional practices and in structural conditions. It is in one sense a strategic map of action, or at least of the kinds of action which may produce change. It also maps sources of resistance and of inertia.

Some comments on the model

a) Structural preconditions and action

I have explored (mostly in chapter 6) the structural conditions which allowed anti-racism briefly to flourish - the remains of the 1944 consensus about decentralised power in education and the pressure in various forms from Asian and black groups and communities. I also suggested in chapter 4 that by the late 1970s it may have been that Britain was beginning to come to terms with some features of its colonial legacy. Lord Scarman, after the Brixton disorders, was prepared to make relatively strong judgemental statements about the pervasiveness of racism, as was Swann. For a while there was some scope for anti-racist action at a structural level to create the space: capturing some LEA resources for staffing, time and advocacy, capitalising on the legitimation of Swann to win central funding, co-opting Section XI money, influencing examination boards, the CNAA and CATE. These conditions gave 'space' (money and legitimation) to a range of attempts at institutional and cultural change which were attempted in largely white schools and colleges: policy development, curriculum change and in-service training. Without such action and space, work at institution level was all but impossible, devoid of all of the positive factors usually associated with successful change: access to existing similar work; advocacy, policy or funds from the authorities; external

change agents on whom to rely for help or support; and community pressure for change.

There was also, inevitably, scope for reaction, and the scale of discursive activity against anti-racism has been detailed in chapters 2 and 6. This shift has been crucial. The skilful politicking of the the new Right is both an example of how easily the racist threads of the societal cloth can be highlighted and emphasised and of how the 'national climate' can percolate down to schools, classrooms, individual teachers and individual students. Ten years after Swann, the national climate would make an overt and explicit anti-racist development in a white school a very poor marketing decision.

b) Institutional factors

In some respects these have shown themselves to be the most intractable because of the inertial forces any deep educational change has to overcome within a school or college.

Most of these are micropolitical. Schools are characterised by power differentials and constituencies, goal diversity, conflict and political activity about personalities, educational principles, resources and control. Any intended change has to deal with these and handle the inevitable and uncomfortable 'internal turbulence'. Heads can block or promote developments, make things easier or harder, either specifically or in general terms by the climate set in the school about innovation - it must be ready to 'use' reform and have enough staff who are willing to take an innovation and run with it, whether for reasons of their own career-stage, educational philosophy, or need for challenge. Development must be extraordinarily carefully planned. There have to be opportunities for frequent, reflective, intellectual interaction between teachers about their work and there has to be available time and attention free from other concerns. As I argued in chapter 4, 'cultures of collegiality, mutual support and continuous critical development

clearly cannot be taken for granted, and changes sought for reasons rooted in educational philosophy may either become entangled in pre-existing conflicts or get nowhere at all if they do not match with the head's (or the dominant group's) vision'. The change-agents must be skilful, not only in terms of knowing their colleagues well, being perceptive about where and how to apply pressure, who to involve and who to lobby, but in terms of timing and targets as well. In addition, they will also need luck.

A critical institutional factor is motive. While this is at least as crucial in the cultural sphere, there is a powerful argument that an institution needs a corporate motive to engage in a deep change: changes are only perceived to be relevant when they clearly have something to offer teachers and students. This presents a formidable obstacle to anti-racism in white areas, since the key moving forces need to be convinced that in some way the institution is 'hurting' because of racism, when, except from the point of view of educational principle, it is not.

c) Cultural racism and cultures of education

This section is about how change is effected within a cultural frame of reference containing both racism and particular notions of what it is to be a teacher and what it is to be educated. It involves observations which in a sense are about individuals and their motivation or ability to change, but their inclusion here is based upon the arguments in chapters 5, 7 and 10 that 'attitudes' cannot be taken in isolation, that with regard to racism (and much else) 'individuals' are rooted in and construct themselves in social groups.

A key problem for anti-racist change in education is that all the evidence testifies convincingly that no real change happens unless it is internalised by teachers at a deep level. Changes do not happen without teachers, and teachers do not institute

changes unless they understand them and believe in them. Teaching is personal, it requires an investment of the self and gives returns in kind: self-esteem, occupational identity, survival in the capricious, multidimensional, highly interactive maelstrom of the classroom. Thus they need quite some convincing to change anything fundamental, including cultural and 'racial' assumptions they share with many others and which they see reinforced by all the processes of a racist society. The racist frames of reference of many teachers serve the same purpose as other constructs: they make sense of the world, they interlock with, shore up and are in turn shored up by other constructs and meanings. They need to be tenacious and the wise change-agent learns to regard them respectfully and as more than 'mere' stupidity or stubbornness.

In practice this means time, but time carefully and skilfully used. Inset or ITE need to introduce anti-racism in ways which, without compromising, do not generate terminal hostility and which take place in a climate which facilitates and promotes long-term intensive, frequent and collaborative interaction between teachers in relation to the work they are doing, with ready access to informed and practical outside support. In principle this allows for racist frames of reference to be potentially altered through a process of reflection upon practice, rather than expecting a change through exhortation, moral persuasion, information, a set of guidelines, or compulsion. In practice it is an almost impossible brief.

It also, of course, makes assumptions about what it is to be a teacher. It means teachers need to be able constantly to reflect upon and make links between apparently mundane classroom events and their meanings in relation to broader concerns, to be aware of the dilemmas they constantly negotiate. It therefore means that schools and ITE need to promote this. It assumes a model of the teacher and the curriculum which entails critical engagement with what it means to be educated, and hence allows for a principled rationale for why teachers *should* be anti-

racist. This makes some difference, at least, to one of the primary difficulties I have identified on several occasions, anti-racism in white schools requires a moral change and *only* a moral change, carried out despite the likelihood that it will not materially affect anyone in the school.

d) Personal racism and individual change

Changes at national, LEA and institution level were both initiated and sustained by individual work and action and in their turn, ultimately, required individual change. Embedded in the network of structural, cultural and institutional influences, constraints and meanings are the racialised frames of reference of national and local politicians, journalists, governors, academics, administrators, heads and teachers, trainee teachers and, of course, pupils. I have illustrated, particularly in chapters 7 and 10, how difficult and slow it can be for one person's frame of reference to shift, for the constellation of inexplicit constructs and perceptual filters to modify to ones which recognise and challenge racism.

Some enabling conditions for this have already been described. When the structural, institutional and cultural context encourages and supports an examination of racist frames of reference then the potentially painful reorientation is made easier and a sensitive pedagogy stands a chance. Chapter 5 suggests that any training, teaching, or awareness-raising is likely to be more successful when it in some ways, however small, engage with the daily conditions of people's lives. I also speculated in chapter 10 that a careful and sensitive recognition of learners' biographies may make for more effective learning.

In conclusion....

Anti-racist change is by definition multidimensional. Racism operates at different levels, none of which can be singled out as the most important for action because of their intricate

interdependence. Structural change in some sense underpins all others, but it alone changes nothing: it is cultural practices and shared frames of reference which, in white areas, must be changed, within the constraining contexts and internal forces of real institutions. The task is to change minds, shared beliefs, schools, curricula, structures, representations and all at once, with potential implementation gaps in all directions.

This is a practical, strategic, intellectual, political and also moral task in which language plays a key role, straddling all levels of racism. It is never 'just words', of course. The furious arguments between anti-racists and multiculturalists were about more than that, while the associations with the words 'racism' and 'anti-racism' seem to intimidate ITE students, upset school staff, antagonise local politicians and have led to their disappearance from official educational documents. Somehow language needs to be strategic and political while also having intellectual and moral integrity. I think that parts of chapters 6-9 demonstrate that while there needs to be an interrogation of policies and documents for conceptual clarity and implicit complicity with the status quo, there also needs to be a recognition that linguistic trade-offs are necessary in the public representation of cultural and institutional change: anti-racism cannot afford conceptually pure formulations, waiting in vestal virginity and refusing to be sullied by contact with mimeographed draft policies fought over by real people in twilight working parties.

Lastly, although I have defined and explored racism in this thesis I have barely defined anti-racism - though there is a discussion in chapter 6 of what it would look like in relation to assimilationism or multiculturalism and there was some grappling with terminology in chapter 8. Both anti-racism and racism, however, are perspectives not things, stances not places, and each is defined by the other. One of the problems of developing anti-racism in schools, curricula, institutions and policies is that it is a process not a product, it produces, in

a racist society, more questions than answers. It is unclear, it does not have clear edges and boundaries, it challenges feelings of competence as well as frames of reference in which we are all embedded.

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